

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

Translated from Classical Armenian
by Robert Bedrosian

For my mother Isabel Torigian Bedrosian

Sources of the Armenian Tradition (New York, 1986)

This translation is in the public domain. It may be copied and distributed freely.

[Translator's Preface](#)
[A Note on Pagination](#)
[Additional Resources](#)

Table of Contents

1. [Brief history of the period from Saint Gregory to the present, written by Kirakos of the renowned congregation of Getik.](#)

[Brief history of Saint Gregory and a list of the names of his successors on the \[kat'oghikosal\] throne.](#)

2. [\[Continuation of the list of kat'oghikoi\].](#)

3. [Regarding the Kingship of Lewon in the West.](#)

4. [Concerning the princes in eastern Armenia, Zak'are and his brother Iwane.](#)

5. [The meeting which Zak'aria called to discuss certain matters.](#)

6. [The coming of the kat'oghikos of Aghbania/Aghuania \[Caucasian Albania\] to the great princes, because of harassment from foreigners.](#)

7. [Concerning the venerable vardapets in Vaspurakan.](#)

8. [The death of general Zak'are.](#)

9. [King Lewon and his death.](#)

10. [A brief section on the history of Aghbania/Aghuania is presented below.](#)

11. [Concerning the coming of the T'at'ar army and the putting to flight of the king of the Georgians.](#)
 12. [The defeat of the troops in the borders of Gandzak.](#)
 13. [*Vardapet* Mxit'ar, where he was from and what sort of man he was.](#)
 14. [Concerning the building of *Nor* \(New\) Getik.](#)
 15. [Concerning those of \[Mxit'ar's\] students who were prominent.](#)
-

16. [The death of the great vardapet called Gosh.](#)
 17. [Concerning who held the directorship of the monastery after him.](#)
 18. [Concerning Sultan Jalal al-Din and the destruction of the Georgian army in 674 A.E. \[1225\].](#)
 19. [Concerning the destruction of Sultan Jalal al-Din, and his removal from the world.](#)
 20. [How the T'at'ars arose to pollute the entire world.](#)
-

21. [Concerning the destruction of the city of Gandzak.](#)
 22. [Concerning the destruction of the lands of Armenia and Georgia by that same army.](#)
 23. [The capture of the city of Shamk'or.](#)
 24. [Concerning the capture of *vardapet* Vanakan and those with him.](#)
 25. [Concerning the destruction of the city of Lorhe.](#)
-

26. [How prince Awag fell into their hands.](#)
 27. [How the Lord betrayed the city of Ani into the hands of the T'at'ars.](#)
 28. [Concerning the destruction of Kars.](#)
 29. [Concerning the sending of prince Awag to the Khan in the East.](#)
 30. [Concerning the destruction which occurred in the Xach'en area, and about the pious prince Jalal.](#)
-

31. [Concerning the church \[Hassan Jalal\] built.](#)
 32. [A brief description of the T'at'ars' appearance.](#)
 33. [Concerning Rhaban of Syria.](#)
 34. [The destruction of T'eodupolis \[Karin/Erzerum\].](#)
 35. [Concerning the war which took place between the sultan and the T'at'ars.](#)
-

36. [Concerning the Armenian king Het'um and what he did.](#)
 37. [Concerning the prince of Lambron, Kostand, and what he did in the land of Cilicia.](#)
 38. [The reign of Dawit'.](#)
 39. [Regarding the summoning of lord Nerses, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghbanians/Aghuans/Caucasian Albanians, to the Great Court.](#)
 40. [Concerning their raiding in the Vaspurakan area and in many other districts.](#)
-

- 41-42. [Concerning the canonical orders of the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, Kostandin.](#)
 43. [Canons of Kostandin, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians.](#)
 44. [Regarding the tax collectors who came from the Khan.](#)
 45. [Regarding the Georgian kings' journey to the Khan.](#)
 46. [Concerning the journey to the Khan undertaken by Smbat, general of Armenia, and the son of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din.](#)
-

47. [Concerning the destruction wrought by the T'at'ars in Georgia.](#)
 48. [Concerning Dawit' the Deceiver.](#)
 49. [Concerning the demon in the form of a woman which copulated with a certain man.](#)
 - 50-52. [Regarding the problem which arose among Christians concerning the Holy Spirit of God, whether it should be said to originate solely from the Father, or from the Father and the Son.](#)
 53. [Concerning the death of the blessed *vardapet* Vanakan.](#)
 54. [Concerning Yovhannes Garhnets'i.](#)
 55. [Regarding Sartakh \(Sart'ax\), son of Batu.](#)
-

56. [Concerning the locusts which devoured the land.](#)
 57. [The census undertaken at the order of Mongke-Khan.](#)
 58. [Concerning the trip of the pious king of the Armenians, Het'um, to Batu and Mongke-Khan.](#)
 59. [The destruction of the land of the Romans \[Rum\].](#)
 60. [The destruction of Baghdad.](#)
-

61. [The destruction of the city of Martyropolis.](#)
62. [Concerning what was done in Mesopotamia and Lower Syria.](#)

63. [The death of pious prince Jalal.](#)
64. [The death of prince Shahnshah and his son Zak'are.](#)
65. [Concerning the great war which occurred between Hulegu and Berke.](#)

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

Translator's Preface

Kirakos Gandzaketsi's *History of the Armenians* is a primary source for the study of the Armenian highlands in the 13th century. This lengthy work, which has survived in 65 chapters, is divided thematically into several sections. Part one is a summary of Armenian church and political history from the 4th through the 12th centuries. This section, which describes the lives and times of the heads of the Armenian Church (*kat'oghikoi*), is based on earlier Armenian sources, many of which have survived. The second section describes political and military events in the 12th century both in Eastern (or Caucasian) Armenia and in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia on the Mediterranean. The next section (chapter 10), resembling the first, contains a biographical list of the *kat'oghikoi* of Caucasian Aghbania/Aghuania (modern Azerbaijan). In chapter 11 and subsequent chapters, Kirakos described the events of his own day: the period of the Zak'arids, the Mongol invasions and domination, and their impact on the Armenians and other peoples of the Middle East. As the author himself was aware, this was by far the most important part of his *History*, and he devoted much of the work to it.

Biographical information about Kirakos Gandzakets'i is not plentiful. In chapter 33 of his work, after a description of the activities of the influential Syrian cleric Raban, the author wrote: "This episode was written down in the year [ii] 1241 (690 of the Armenian Era)...when I was more or less forty years old." Consequently the historian was born in the early part of the 13th century, probably between 1200 and 1210.

Kirakos received his early education at the monastery of Getik, at that time under the direction of Martiros, a student of the great teacher and writer Mxit'ar Gosh (d. 1213). However, it was with another of Mxit'ar's students, the historian Yovhannes Vanakan (d. 1251), that Kirakos studied for a prolonged period. This education commenced at Xoranashat monastery near Tawush fortress, northwest of Gandzak. When the Khwarazmian sultan Jalal al-Din ravaged Xoranashat in 1225, Vanakan fled with his students to a nearby cave, near the village of Lorut, south of Tawush. He continued teaching there until 1236 when a Mongol army under Molar-*noyin* occupied Tawush. Both Vanakan and Kirakos were taken captive by the Mongols and kept as secretaries for several months. Eventually, Vanakan was ransomed by the Christians of Gag for eighty *dahekans*, and Kirakos escaped secretly the same night, fleeing to Getik.

Almost nothing is known about the remaining years of the historian's life. That he participated in a movement to crush a rebellion in the Church in 1251 is clear from chapter 48 of his work. Around 1255 he interviewed the Cilician Armenian king Het'um I (1224-68) at the village of Vardenis near Mt. Aragats upon the latter's return from a visit to Batu-Khan.

[iii] Kirakos' name is mentioned in 1265 by his classmate and fellow-historian, Vardan Arewelts'i, from whom the author requested and received a commentary on the Song of Songs. According to another late 13th century historian, Grigor Aknerts'i, Kirakos died in 1271/72.

Kirakos was eminently qualified to write about 13th century Armenia. An intelligent man trained by an

intellectual of Vanakan's caliber, the author was familiar with Church organization and problems, with prominent contemporary churchmen and their historical writings. He was acquainted with important Armenian *naxarars* (lords) such as prince Prhosh Xaghbakian, who participated in the Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1258/59 and narrated to Kirakos what he had seen and heard, and prince Grigor Mamikonean, who informed Kirakos what he had heard from a Mongol noble about Chingiz-Khan. His detailed information about members of the Zak'arid family derives in part from Prhosh, himself a Zak'arid relation. As mentioned above, King Het'um I served as one informant. Furthermore, during his months of captivity by the Mongols, Kirakos served as a secretary writing and reading letters, and he learned Mongolian. In chapter 32 of his *History* Kirakos Gandzakets'i has left us a priceless treasure, a lexicon of some 55 Mongolian terms with their Armenian equivalents, one of the earliest monuments of the Mongolian language. Consequently, such an individual knew well not only the workings of his own society, but clearly understood aspects of the society of Armenia's conquerors and new masters.

[iv] It is not known when Kirakos began his work. Father Oskean, citing the aforementioned statement in chapter 33, "This was written down in the year 690 A.E...." thinks the year 1240 a likely time. The *History* ends abruptly with an unfinished description of the war between the Khans Abaqa and Berke (1266/67). The cause of this sudden termination is unknown.

The critical edition of Gandzakets'i's *History of the Armenians* was published by the late K.A. Melik'-Ohanjanyan in 1961. That text was based on more than thirty manuscripts housed at the Matenadaran in Erevan, Armenia, collated with three earlier editions. Translations have been made into French by M. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1870); Russian by A. Khanlarian (Moscow, 1976); and modern Armenian by V. Arhak'elyan. The present English translation, which was completed in 1975, was made from the Melik'-Ohanjanyan edition, but omits several lengthy sections which are of doctrinal or theological, rather than historical, importance. For a detailed study of the Turco-Mongol invasions see volume five of the *Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge, 1968); for Armenia in particular, see R. Bedrosian, [The Turco-Mongol Invasions and the Lords of Armenia in the 13-14th Centuries](#) (New York, 1979). Additional bibliography is available in C. Toumanoff's article, "[Armenia and Georgia](#)," [Chapter XIV in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, The Byzantine Empire, part I, (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 593-637]. The transliteration system employed in this translation is a modification of the Library of Congress system.

Robert Bedrosian
New York, 1986

A Note on Pagination

The printed editions of these online texts show the page number at the top of the page. In the right margin the pagination of the Classical Armenian (*grabar*) text also is provided. We have made the following alterations for the online texts: the page number of the printed English editions (*Sources of the Armenian Tradition* series) appears in square brackets, in the text. For example [101] this text would be located on page 101, and [102] this text would be on page 102. The *grabar* pagination is as follows. This sentence corresponds to the information found on page 91 of the Classical Armenian text [g91] and what follows is on page 92. In other words, the Classical Armenian text delimiters [gnn] indicate **bottom** of page.

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

1. Brief history of the period from Saint Gregory to the present, written by Kirakos of the renowned congregation of Getik.

[1] The desire to want to learn about things which have transpired or about events which will take place, is implanted in the nature of man by the care of the Creator.

It is not possible to know about and become competent in such endeavors without much work and lengthy efforts.

It is necessary to become fatigued and exhausted through labor and many pains that perchance something useful be discovered which may satisfy the desires of the inquisitive. [g3]

One must read Christian and secular histories with diligence, not negligence.

To make the ignorant wise, and the irrational rational, the power of the Holy Spirit must also be considered.

One must believe in Him with unwavering and unblemished faith.

[2] For everything is created and directed according to His will, both the visible and the invisible.

With a pure holy heart and without bias must one hear the celestial and inner divine words, and read the writings, which can give to the seeker what he seeks. [Translator's note: The first letter of each first word of the preceding paragraphs form an acrostic which reads **K-I-R-A-K-O-S** in the Armenian.]

For these are divine precepts: "Fathers must teach their sons so that the next generation learns [Psalms 78. 5,6]" as the prophet David enjoins, and as the great prophet Moses advised the sons of Israel: "Meditate on this by day and by night, sitting at home, travelling along the way, sleeping and arising [Joshua I. 8; II Deuteronomy 6, 7; 11, 19]." Among those who have helped in this education have been many men of God who left behind a living monument—their writings for all generations succeeding them. Such a person was [g4] the great Eusebius who left two books. One is the *Chronicle* which begins with the ancestor Adam, in which Eusebius compared the barbarous names of the Patriarchs found in pagan histories to the names in Christian histories, continuing [3] until the Coming of Christ and beyond, and including the names of chiefs and kings of many peoples of this region. The other book is the *History of the Church* which begins with the birth of the Sun of Righteousness and contains accounts of the kings and the missionary activities of the holy Apostles, describing who of them did what and where each went and how he was martyred. It describes the holy bishops and the work and bravery of distinguished men, down to the days of the pious Constantine, where the book ends. The book of the learned Socrates Scholasticus, written with forceful expression, begins with Saint Sylvester, the bishop of Rome, describes Constantine the Great, and proceeds until the days of Theodosius the Younger, narrating the deeds and accomplishments of each of the kings and bishops, the virtuous and the wicked, the acts of many councils, good and bad, in a lengthy and extensive work [*end* of *grabar* (Classical Armenian text) page 5; henceforth shown as, for example, [g5].

Many Armenian historians [also] have produced works. Among them are the venerable and brilliant Agat'angeghos (which translates "glad tidings") who, at the order of the mighty, brave king Trdat, put down the details of events which transpired among the Armenians at the hands of Saint Gregory the Parthian, the confessor of Christ; deeds, miracles and [4] wonders, and the circumstances of the illumination of the land of Armenia, all in a beautiful and clear narration. After Agat'angeghos was Movses Xorenats'i, richer in knowledge and wisdom than many holy men of God, who composed the history of the Armenians concisely and carefully beginning with the first man and including the affairs, works and deeds of many peoples from the days of Trdat and Saint Gregory to the death of Saint Sahak, patriarch of the Armenians. He concludes with a lament pronounced over the land of Armenia. After Xorenats'i was the blessed Eghishe who narrated the brave deeds of Vardan, Saint Sahak's grandson, and his companions who (in the hope of Christ) gave themselves up [g6] to death and were crowned by Christ. He wrote about the courageous deaths of the blessed Yovsep'eants', how the Armenian *naxarars* (lords) willingly surrendered to the royal fetters for their conviction for Christ, voluntarily; and about the patient martyrdom of the saints Xoren and Abraham, which this wonderful man set forth precisely. And then there is the rhetorician, Ghazar P'arbets'i, who begins with the days of Saint Sahak and narrates events in the same style. And following him P'awstos Biwzand, who relates what transpired in Armenia between the Iranians and us. And the history of Heraclius was written by bishop Sebeos. And the history of the wonderful Koriwn. And Xosrov. And the history [5] of the priest Ghewond which is about what Mahmet and his successors did all over the world and especially among the Armenian people. And the *vardapet* T'ovma, historian of the house of Artsrunik'. And Shapuh Bagratuni. And lord Yovhannes, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians. And Movses Kaghankatuats'i, historian of [Caucasian] Aghbania/Aghuania. And Uxtanes, bishop of Urha (Edessa), who wrote about the [doctrinal] separation of the Georgians from the Armenians by Kiwrion. And the *vardapet* Step'annos, surnamed Asoghik. And the *vardapet* Aristakes called Lastivertts'i. And Samuel, the priest from the [g7] cathedral of Ani. And the learned and brilliant *vardapet* called Vanakan.

It was the concern of each of these blessed men to leave behind a good written memorial for the future, for the benefit of the listeners and as a recompense for these same saints, an undying memorial to endure until the coming of Christ.

Now as for our undertaking, let no one consider it bold. But rather, it is a work of goodly emulation. For our mind has compelled us not to be silent about such calamitous disasters which we heard about with our own ears and saw with our own eyes. These times brought to mind all the prophecies previously prophesized about the difficulties which would [6] come later on; and this came to pass in our own time. As our Savior and God, Lord Jesus Christ, said: "Nations shall rise up against nations, and kingdoms against kingdoms," "and this is but the beginning of the sufferings [Matthew 24.7-8; Mark 13.8]." The appearance of the son of destruction whom we fear, may happen in our own day. For everything done today points to this. Love has dried up, cruelty reigns, worship has declined [g8], and irreligion has increased. Altars and masses are silent and priests have fallen to the sword without mercy. Women and children are taken into slavery and men suffer violent deaths. For what saint Nerses, that man of God, prophesied about the Nation of the Archers and about the destruction of the land of the Armenians has now been fulfilled by the people called T'at'ars. For they have wiped out many nations and tribes, as we shall relate in the proper place, if the Lord allows.

Each of the former scholars working before us found a certain place, [his work] being sponsored either by a distinguished king or by *nahapets* of distinguished families. Yet now we are deprived of any such support since the Arsacid and Bagratid kingdoms have long since vanished and nowhere are there princes of the line of Hayk remaining except for those who are crouched and hiding in foreign lands. The one hope we have we place on the grace and the might of the mystery of this day. For today, the day on which we began this work, is the feast of the coming of the most Holy Spirit to the Upperchamber among the ranks of the [g9] Apostles, when Christ sent them throughout the world, fortified with fiery tongues, to summon all to Life Everlasting, with the net of the Gospel.

We, confident of the same Spirit, have plunged ourselves into a task which is above our abilities. Therefore,

we beseech those coming after us, not to denigrate our work, not to scoff at or disdain it as unlettered, but accept it with brotherly condescension and let it be for your remembrance, for posterity. For among the disciples of Christ all must be accomplished through conciliation as we learn in the Scriptures. But let us attack the task which we have started and present first, concisely, the names of the occupants of the [kat'oghikosal] throne of Saint Gregory, beginning with the latter and extending to our own times. Let it be for us a cemetary monument, not like the pillar of Absalom [II Kings 18.18], but a living memorial on which the name of Kirakos will be remembered. [8]

Brief history of Saint Gregory and a list of the names of his successors on the [kat'oghikosal] throne.

Our spiritual father, Saint Gregory, born in Christ [g10], is worthy of all praise and exalted by a good memory. After he had enlightened the land of Armenia with the knowledge of God, with orthodox regulations and canons, and after ordaining more than 430 bishops, he went with the great King Trdat to Rome to see the relics of Saints Peter and Paul, and the great King Constantine and the holy patriarch Sylvester to make a vow and an alliance with them. Blessed Constantine and the great patriarch received the blessed Gregory at court with great honors, exalting him as a confessor and a witness of Christ, possessing the gifts of an Apostle. They gave him the dignity of patriarch, like a vicar of Peter. And they gave him a part of the relics of the Apostles: the left hand of the Apostle Andrew, and many other gifts.

In Jerusalem [There seems to be a lacuna in the Armenian text after the word Jerusalem.] they showed Golgotha, the place of Christ's crucifixion, [the church] of Saint James, and a place for saying mass in the rear of [the church] of the Holy Resurrection. [9] They say that Saint Gregory placed a lamp over the tomb of Christ and beseeched God with his prayers that on the feast of Easter, the place be lit with an immaterial light, something which occurs down to our own day. Likewise they honored the great Trdat in a manner befitting his valor, making an alliance by the blood of Christ and with faith in Him to maintain inviolable love between the two peoples, in times after themselves [g11].

Constantine asked Saint Gregory, "How great is the joy of the angels at the discovery of so many sheep which have strayed?" He replied: "Very great indeed. But let us, the sons of Adam, not be considered as sheep by the Heavenly Host." And the emperor said: "Let us, the saved, never stop associating with them during your coming."

And he ordered all the cities to celebrate with the sacrificing of sheep. The Jews and pagans who had remained unconverted were washing with the blessed salt, for Saint Gregory and Sylvester had blessed salt. And Saint Gregory said to the Jews: "You perform circumcision on the uncircumcised, contrary to the laws. Animals offered in sacrifice to God as a dedication to the saints, or in memory of the dead without the blessing of salt, are like the sacrifices of pagans."

[10] He then came to our land with great rejoicing and spiritual gladness, and our lands were greatly adorned with all the Christian laws. During his life he ordained his blessed son Aristakes head bishop of the Armenians, Georgians, and [Caucasian] Aghbanians/Aghuans. He himself then pursued a solitary life, so that he be crowned with every sort of crown—Apostle's [g12], martyr's, patriarch's, cenobite's—which more accustoms man to speaking with God tranquilly. When Aristakes returned from the Council of Nicea, Saint Gregory thereafter appeared to no one. After a long life, he passed away in Christ, having occupied the patriarchate for 30 years. Shepherds, discovering him dead, piled a heap of stones over his body.

Later, under the influence of the Spirit, a certain hermit and saint named Garhnik found him and took him to

T'ordan village. In the days of the Emperor Zeno [474-91], they took some of his remains and those of the holy Hrhip'simeans to Constantinople, and, fashioning a coffin of silver, they put the relics of the saints in it. Writing upon it the names of each [saint], they placed [the reliquary] in a marble sepulcher and sealed it with a ring. It remained obscure for a long time, no one knowing whose remains it contained, only that it was of some saint [g13].

[11] Now in the days of the Emperor Basil [I, 867-86] and of Ashot Bagratuni, king of the Armenians, it came to light in the following way. A youth was seized by an evil spirit while praying in that very church where the relics of the saints were. The child was lifted up by the *dew* (demon) and thrown upon the tomb of the saints, crying and saying: "Saint Grigorios, illuminator of the Armenians, don't torture me. And you, lady Hrhip'sime, have come to torture me; and you, Gayane, are torturing me." He was shouting this for a long while.

When the multitude heard these words, they notified the king who ordered the coffin opened. As soon as they opened it, a strong light gleamed forth from the relics of the saints. And the emperor ordered that the marble coffin be overlaid with gold and that the names of the saints be written on it, so that everyone would know whose tomb it was. An imperial eunuch came and related all this to King Ashot, and when he heard it, he glorified God and instituted a feast of Saint Gregory on that day, Saturday in the sixth week of Lent. This feast is observed to this day.

Now the blessed Aristakes cared well for the flock which was entrusted to him, and reprimanded without exception those [12] not reforming. It happened that a certain Ark'eghayos who [g14] had been made supervisor of so-called Fourth Armenia, had been reprimanded by Aristakes because of his evil deeds. Meeting [Aristakes] in the district of Tsop'k', Ark'eghayos killed him and went as a fugitive to Cilician Tarsus, out of fear of King Trdat. Aristakes held the episcopacy for seven years and was translated to Christ with a martyr's death.

In place [of Aristakes] King Trdat put on the patriarchal throne the great Vrt'anes, senior son of Saint Gregory, the brother of the blessed Aristakes. He himself [Trdat] liked the solitary life as had Saint Gregory. Thenceforth from time to time he did not appear among his forces, instead fasting and praying for forty days at a time. Going to him, his forces beseeched him to occupy the throne. But he did not agree to this, calling them traitors, superficially practising their piety. They swore vows and sealed decrees to practise Christianity with sanctity and to serve [the king] without prevarication. And Trdat acceded to their wishes, occupied his throne, and became an example of all kinds of virtues [g15].

But becoming weary of his piety, they planned to kill him treacherously. Taking him to the hunt, they attacked him [13] with bow and arrow, as if by accident. Seeing that he did not die from that, they gave him poison. And thus they murdered him. They snuffed out the life of this man, an individual whose enemies had been unable to hurt him due to his titan-like bravery, because he triumphed in every battle. What was considered impossible to accomplish by force—since the reputation of [Trdat's] bravery had spread throughout the entire world—they accomplished with treachery and so extinguished the glowing torch of their own lives. The pious and God-loving Trdatios thus died, having reigned for 56 years.

Now the great Vrt'anes went to Emperor Constantine to have Xosrov, son of the brave and virtuous Trdat made king. This was done and Xosrov was given much support to oppose the Iranian king Shapuh in war.

But Sanatruk—who had been set up as overseer of the Aghbanian/Aghuanian areas by Trdat—as soon as he learned of the king's death, murdered the blessed Gregoris, son of Vrt'anes and [g16] brother of Yusik, by tying him to the tail of a wild horse in the Vatnean [Mughan] plain. Then Sanatruk himself went [14] to Shapuh, king of Iran, and adopted the appearance of sovereignty, separating his land from Xosrov.

Xosrov, considering his remaining land sufficient, did not care to make war but spent his life peacefully, obedient to the counsel of great Vrt'anes. He transferred [the capital] from the city of Artashat to Dwin and

planted oak forests for a place of recreation. Having reigned for nine years, he died in piety. His son Tiran [c. 339-50] ruled in his stead.

Now Saint Vrt'anes spent his life doing good deeds. Although the *naxarars* wanted to kill him many times, God did not allow this to occur. Instead, Vrt'anes died peacefully and passed to Christ, the hope of all. King Tiran replaced him with his son, the blessed Yusik, brother of Gregoris, *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania/Aghuania.

However, Tiran did not rule the kingdom according to the rules of God, but with evil deeds which the blessed Yusik vigorously reprimanded [g17]. Tiran despised Yusik and later murdered him for the following reason. After the death of the son of the great Constantine, Emperor Constantius, Julian the Apostate ruled over the Romans [361-63]. He sent a tablet on which was painted the picture of satan and next to [15] him that of Julian, in order that it be placed in the Armenian church. Tiran, out of fear of Julian, did as he was ordered. However, the blessed Yusik was opposed to this and did not allow the painting to enter the church. Instead he grabbed it from [Tiran's] hands, threw it on the ground and trampled it with his feet, shattering it to bits. The angered Tiran ordered Yusik to be beaten to death with clubs. [Yusik] occupied the episcopal throne for six years.

Then Tiran called the great suffragan bishop Daniel, an Assyrian, whom Saint Gregory had placed as overseer over [certain] districts. He was a saint and a miracle-worker. And when he arrived, Daniel reprimanded the king with severe oaths on account of the murder of the holy chief priest Yusik. Tiran became angry and ordered him strangled. Thus the blessed man died a martyr's death. Tiran then placed on the patriarchal throne a certain P'arhnerseh, not of the line of Saint Gregory, but from the village of Ashtishat in Taron. He reigned for five years [g18].

The king of Iran, Shapuh, treacherously called Tiran before him, and *en route* had his eyes blinded with coals. This was revenge granted by God for Tiran's unjust murder of Yusik and Daniel. Later his own son, Arshak, strangled him. [Tiran] ruled [16] for thirty years.

By the order of Shapuh, Arshak occupied the throne of his kingdom [350-67]. And all his *naxarars* and all the bishops of the land of Armenia came to him requesting a patriarch from the worthy clan of Saint Gregory. They found a youth of fine stature, pleasing to the sight of the Lord, whose name was Nerses, son of Yusik's son, At'anagines. Yusik had two sons, one named Pap and the other At'anagines. While Yusik was alive he did not ordain either of them for any work in the church because they were unworthy. But after Yusik's death, they were forcibly ordained deacons. But they abandoned the work of the church, occupying themselves with eating and drinking. Instead of psalms and spiritual songs, they contented themselves with *gusans* [minstrels], singing women and whores.

One day when they were sitting in the church eating [g19] and drinking with women and servants, a fire fell from heaven and consumed both of them, disgracing them with an unheard-of death. And they remained inside the church for many days, since no one dared enter and remove the corpses.

Nerses the marvellous was worthy of the epithet by which [17] he was called, for he was a righteous and blessed man. He had been a soldier of King Arshak who raised his steel sword in service to the king and considered himself unworthy of such honor. But King Arshak ordered the old bishop P'ostos to ordain him deacon. And gathering together a great force, the king sent him to Caesarea to be ordained patriarch. Returning from Caesarea, Nerses enlightened the land of Armenia with diverse laws, he built monasteries and poor-houses, and he gathered together the lepers and afflicted ones and arranged for their maintenance and stipulated stipends.

But Arshak did not rule the kingdom according to the law of God, for he slayed his brother's son, Gnel, and took Gnel's wife, P'arandzem, for his own wife. The blessed man of God, Nerses, then cursed him; while Shapuh, king of the Iranians, and Valens emperor of the Greeks (who ruled piously after Jovian) became his

enemies. Arshak beseeched Nerses to go to Emperor Valens [364-78] in an embassy [g20].

Saint Nerses went to make peace between the two kings. However, Valens was then persecuting the orthodox, since he was fermenting in the sects of Arios and Makedon. As soon as he saw Saint Nerses and heard that the man was a miracle-worker, he said to him: "Heal my son, for he is sick unto death." And the saint said: "If you turn from [18] your ill-advised sect, I will cure him." And [the emperor] agreed. The holy man prayed and the child came out of his illness. But Valens then returned to the same heresy as before and the child died immediately.

Valens ordered that the blessed man be exiled to an uninhabited island where there would be no green plants, but only sand. At the saint's prayers, a fountain with delicious water flowed forth and the sea threw fish onto the shore and wood which burst into flame of its own accord. They dined this way for nine months.

When Arshak learned that Saint Nerses had been exiled, he began to work great evil. He built a city and gathered all the criminals there and said that there would be no trial against anyone who committed crimes and then went there. The city filled up with injustice. It was named Arshakawan [g21].

Valens the emperor was killed barbarously, giving an example to this world of the future eternal Gehenna. He was burned to death. Teodos [Theodosius I, 379-95] the Great took the crown at the order of Gratianos. And he released Saint Nerses from exile and kept him near himself with great [19] honor until the gathering of the Council of One Hundred Fifty in Constantinople, at which were assembled Gregory the Theologian and Gregory of Nisa, brother of Saint Basil and many other fathers, because of the heresy of Macedonius.

Now Nerses was sent to his [patriarchal] throne. He saw the unjust deeds of Arshak and cursed Arshakawan. Its population wickedly perished and the populous city became deserted. Shapuh called Arshak to him and had him put in prison. Arshak killed himself with his own hands. He reigned for thirty years.

Saint Nerses beseeched the great Theodosius and he enthroned Pap, Arshak's son, over the Armenians [367-74]. Because Pap was a dissolute man, Saint Nerses went to reprimand him. Pap gave him poison and caused that upright man to die. As he was dying, [Nerses] called his flock to him and blessed it, and prophesied much about the Nation of the Archers [the Mongols] and the destruction of Armenia, about the antichrist and the troubles he would spread throughout the entire world. Then the saint died a martyr's death, leaving his weeping flock [g22]. He held the patriarchate for thirty-four years. A certain Shahak succeeded him on the [patriarchal] throne. Shahak was not of the same [Gregorid] line, but [20] rather was a son of Albanos, from Manazkert in Hark'. He ruled for four years.

When pious Theodosius saw the evil deeds which Pap was doing, he ruined him in accordance with his wicked actions. [Pap] ruled for seven years. Then Theodosius the Great enthroned as king of Armenia a certain Varazdat of the Arshakuni line, a powerful, strong man. After Shahak, his brother Zawen held the *kat'oghikosate* for four years.

Varazdat planned to rebell against Theodosius and to ally with the Iranians. Manuel Mamikonean, brother of the brave *sparapet* of the Armenians, Mushegh, whom Varazdat treacherously killed, chased the king away. Varazdat went to Greece [Byzantium] where he died, after ruling four years.

After Zawen, the brother of Shahak and Zawen, Aspurakes, ruled the *kat'oghikosate* for five years. Manuel seated on the throne Pap's two sons, Arshak and Vagharshak, and made them his sons-in-law. They ruled for four years [g23].

Then [in 387] the Byzantine and Iranian kings divided the land of Armenia into two parts. In the Byzantine sector Arshak ruled at the command of Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius the Great. Now Shapuh enthroned as king in [21] his sector a certain Xosrov of the same Arsacid line. And there was a battle between

Arshak and Xosrov, since the princes who were under Arshak made off with his treasury and went over to Xosrov.

Xosrov, after the death of Aspurakes, seated the blessed Sahak, son of Nerses the Great, on the patriarchal throne. In these days the patriarch of Constantinople was that wonderful blazing torch of the Church, Saint John Chrysostom who enlightened the universal Church of Christ with doctrine of the Word of Life. He was at first ridiculed by some people for not being able to speak Greek well, because on his father's side he was Syrian. After he was baptised he did not drink wine, he did not laugh or swear or make people take oaths, and he did not anathematize anyone. When they took him into exile, he stretched forth his hand to the Church, saying: "Be well, holy Church, abode of the glories of the Lord, and do not forget my work; for of the gifts which I received [g24] from God the most valuable are the eight hundred books and twelve thousand homilies." He was patriarch for five years, was in exile for three years, and died in [the city of] Comana at fifty years of age.

When Xosrov had ruled for five years, the Iranian king deposed him and enthroned Vramshapuh. More than anyone [22] Saint Sahak made the Church of Christ resplendent with various virtuous laws and with canonical legislation.

In this period, a great light of learning dawned in Armenia since the venerable Mesrop went to Saint Sahak to inquire whether it would be possible to create letters for the Armenian language. [Mesrop] found [Sahak] more than desirous of such a thing, because until that time they did not have Armenian letters but used Greek or Syriac characters. They acquainted King Vramshapuh with the plan. And the king said: "While I was in the Syrian areas, a certain Syrian bishop named Daniel told me that he had characters for the Armenian language. I neglected this matter at the time." And they sent a certain *naxarar* named Vaxrich (Vahrich) to Daniel to request the alphabet from him. He sent it [to them] by [g25] the priest Habel. As soon as they saw it, they rejoiced and began to translate into Armenian all the books of the Bible. But looking at [the alphabet], they realized that it was not sufficient for correctly producing all the syllables, conjunctive particles, and words, and again they became concerned. When they had exhausted all human possibilities, they took refuge with Him for whom all is possible, petitioning the Lord with prayers and undertaking rigorous fasting and prayers. He who fulfills the desires of His pious followers and listens [23] to their prayers did not neglect their goodly requests. A mighty writing on stone appeared to Mesrob and it made manifest all the particulars. Arising, Mesrob created the alphabet.

Thereafter they gathered many children and instructed the entire land. They divided the young children the learned, the soft-voiced and patient into two groups, and founded Syrian and Greek schools. Those youths, after studying all sorts of Christian and secular disciplines, became veracious translators. They translated all the books of the Old and New Testament, beginning with the Proverbs of [g26] Solomon. They did them all. They were not only translators, but doctors and teachers and prophets speaking of the future.

They were filled with the Holy Spirit, speakers of the languages of nations, translators from generation to generation, they transformed the obscure into the evident; they explained deep words, making them clear.

They were pillars of the Church and the well-fastened gates for Her sons. They were light-giving towers and blazing torches, generally spreading their rays to the extremities of the universe.

They were theologians of the Word of Life, givers of [24] drink to the thirsty, coolers of the fiery heat of the devil and bringers of warmth to those cooling in the faith.

They were singing swallows, sweet voiced and prudent doves, lovers of holiness, and dishonourers of impurity.

They were teachers of the children and good examples for the youth, ornaments of virgins, laws of the married, comforters of the old, counselors of the weak, callers to those sinking, who turned sinners from their

ways. They [g27] served as goads to awaken the lazy, encouraging the enthusiastic. They were lovers of study and reprimanders of the wicked.

Their *vardapets* and teachers were saints Sahak and Mesrop and their principal students, the blessed Yovsep', Yovhan, Ghewond the Priest (*erets'*), Sahak, Movses K'ert'oghahayr, and Mambre Veratsanogh, his brother Eznak, Koriwn, the blessed Eghishe, the philosopher Dawit', Yovhannes, lord Abraham, Ardzan, Mushe, Ardzan, Xosrov, Ghazar, and then Step'annos bishop of Siwnik' and Hrhap'anos Samostats'i who fashioned the beautiful characters, and many others, some of whom had reached the rank [25] of bishop, and others who were set up as leaders over the people. Some composed their own books, beyond the translations, such as the *History of the Armenians* of the marvellous Movses at the request of Sahak Bagratuni and his *History of the Holy Mother of God and Her Picture* at the request of the Artsrunid princes and *Petk'* at the request of a certain Teodos, and the *Eulogy of the Blessed Hrhip'simeans*, and *On the Transfiguration (Vardavarh)* and other sermons and philosophical homilies. Koriwn wrote the *History of Saint Mesrop* and of other times. Eghishe's *History of the Holy Vardaneans* [g28], the *Book of Canons* and exegeses of sacred writings and the passion of our Savior. And Ghazar's book. Eznak too left many discourses for the benefit of posterity. Dawit' the Philosopher's *Book of Limits and Being*, the *Interpretation of Aristotle*, the *Introduction of Porphyry* and other questions and answers, the *Eulogy on the Holy Cross*, and *On the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ*. Similarly, Mambre Vertsanogh wrote a eulogy on Palm Sunday, on the coming of Christ to Jerusalem riding on a donkey. Then the great bishop Step'annos of Siwnik' left many interpretations of sacred writings, a summary of the Gospels, and of the books of Job, Daniel, and Ezekiel and the answers to the letter of the patriarch of Constantinople, Germanos.

[26] They also wrote *sharakans* (hymns) of a sweet and lovely quality and with great imagination on the birth of Christ and the forty days of His coming to the temple, on His baptism and His arrival in Bethany and Jerusalem on the great week of His Passion and Resurrection, His Ascension and the coming of the Spirit on the Cross, and the Church and on other feasts [g29] of the Lord and on all the saints, on repentance and on all the reposed, varied, diverse and countless, [hymns] which to this day are used in the churches of Armenia.

Now the holy *vardapet* Mesrop, as soon as he elevated Armenia through learning and translations, entrusted his works to *kat'oghikos* Sahak and went to Aghbania/Aghuania where he created an alphabet for them, too. Leaving *vardapets* there for them, he went to Georgia and created an alphabet for them in accordance with the grace given him from on High. And thus gladdening all the lands with boundless joy he left them *vardapets* from among his students and he himself returned to Armenia and found the great Sahak occupied with translating.

Now King Vramshapuh, having ruled the country for twenty-one years, died in peace. Then his brother Xosrov ruled again for one year and then Artashes (or Artashir) ruled after him.

[27] During that time the pious Theodosius the Lesser [II, 408-450], son of Arcadius, ruled the Byzantines. And Saint Sahak [g30] sent the *vardapet* Mesrop and his own grandson, Vardan [Mamikonean], with a letter to Emperor Theodosius so that he give an order to those under his sway to study the Armenian alphabet for [the emperor's] overseers had not given permission to do this, out of their jealousy. Then the mild Theodosius accused [Mesrop], saying: "Why did you search for an alphabet from the Syrians and not from the Greek scholars who are in our city?" And Mesrop replied that the completion of the alphabet took place because of the grace of the Spirit. Then the pious king thanked God and ordered that Mesrop be honored as a true and wise *vardapet*. He and the patriarch Attikos, together with all the faithful of the Church and the king enrolled Mesrop among the foremost doctors of the Church, with At'anasius and the two Gregories, Basil and John Chrysostom.

The pious Theodosius made Vardan *stratelat*. They also wrote letters to the great Sahak giving him exalted honor. [The emperor] gave the order throughout his kingdom to assemble [g31] intelligent young men to study the alphabet, while maintenance and expenses were seen to by the court. He gave an order to build a city in

the Karin district of Armenia and named [28] the city Theodosiopolis (T'eodopolis), which presently is called Karin city. When Mesrop arrived [in Armenia] he also instructed that half [of the Armenian] people under Theodosius' rule.

Now the king of Armenia, the youth Artashir, was lewd and wanton, worked unworthy deeds not only at night, but during the day, and did not heed the advice of Saint Sahak. Therefore, all the *naxarars* became disgusted and went to Saint Sahak so that together with him they might denounce Artashir to the Iranian king and overthrow him. But Saint Sahak refused to toss a lamb to the wolves. [The *naxarars*] went to the Iranian king Vahram [(Vrham) Gur, 421-438/39], removed Artashir from the throne and also removed the blessed Sahak from his throne for he had not agreed with them. Thus the kingdom of the Arsacids was ended following Artashir, who reigned for six years. The Arsacid kingdom in Armenia lasted 568 years. The pontificate ended in the worthy clan of Saint Gregory [g32], although the blessed Sahak lived sixteen years after this event and made the land resplendent with his luminous doctrine. This was during the time of unworthy overseers and Iranian *marzpan*s such as Vehmihhrshapuh in place of King Artashir and the vengeful Surmak instead of Saint Sahak. [Surmak] [29] lived one year. After Surmak came the Syrian Brkisho, who was worse than his predecessor. He ruled for three years. And then Shmuel ruled for five useless years.

Now Saint Sahak was occupied with prayers and doctrine. Then all the *naxarars* of Armenia threw themselves before him confessing their sins, requesting a pardon from him, and begging him to return to his throne, but he did not consent. And when they had pressed him a great deal, he related to them the vision which he saw, [namely] that it was because of the Lord that the line of Saint Gregory ceased to occupy the patriarchate and the Arsacid house had ceased to occupy the throne. And that close to the appearance of the antichrist, God would again restore the kingdom of the Arsacids and the [g33] patriarchate in the line of Saint Gregory. The *naxarars* gave him leave to do as he wished. The Iranian king made Vardan *marzpan* of Armenia and placed the country in his hands.

After occupying the patriarchate for fifty-one years, Saint Sahak passed in peaceful death to the ranks of the angels, giving his throne to Saint Mesrop, who also passed from this life during the same year, leaving a good testimony of himself to the future. He died at the beginning of the first year of [the reign of] Varham II's son Yazkert [II, 439-457], the king of Iran. [30] Their blessed student, Yovsep', occupied the patriarchal throne.

King Yazkert forced all Christians to apostasize and to turn to the Mazdean faith, a thing which the Armenian troops did not accept. They turned against the order and killed the *mogs* and *mogpets* who had come to destroy the churches and extinguish the faith. As soon as Yazkert heard all about that, he sent many troops to war with the Armenian forces (whose leaders were the holy Vardan and his comrades). The Iranians devastated the country and at the advice of the apostate Vasak took into slavery the remaining *naxarars* and the blessed Yovsep', Sahak, Ghewond, and their comrades [g34], taking them to the [Iranian] court in shackles. Subsequently they killed the blessed Yovsep' and his companions, keeping the *naxarars* in prison until the days of King Peroz [459-84] when, by the grace of God, they were freed from their bonds and, having inherited the name of confessors, they returned to the land of Armenia.

After the death of pious Emperor Theodosius, Marcian [450-57] took over the kingdom. He convened the council of 636 bishops at Chalcedon, to wreck the orthodox faith. Their blasphemy spreads throughout the world until the present.

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

[31] After the blessed Yovsep', lord Giwt occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for fifteen years. He requested from Dawit' the Philosopher [the work] *Bardzrats'uts'ek'*. The next *kat'oghikos* was Yovhan Mandakuni, who reigned for twelve years. He introduced many regulations in the Church, including the preachings for Lent and the prayers to be said at the third, sixth, and ninth hours of that feast, prayers to be said at the establishment of churches, in case of misfortune, over the chalice and plate, books, at baptisms, when blessing the Cross, and at marriages. He introduced all of these [regulations]. Furthermore, he dared to confess Christ before King Peroz, not fearing [g35] the king's threats to entice him to deny Christ and communion with the Byzantines. Perfect in all virtues, Yovhan passed to Christ.

After Marcian, the Byzantine Leo [I, 457-74] the Great ruled, and the Iranian king Peroz made Mangnos *marzpan* of Armenia, for twenty years. In these days, Movses *K'ert'ogahayr* came upon the scene. At the same time, the holy father T'at'ul illuminated the land with marvelous ascetic conduct, with his brother Varos and his pupil T'uma. After Yovhan Mandakuni, lord Babgen occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for five [32] years, in the days of Emperor Zeno [474-91].

Zeno anathematized the Council of Chalcedon and instituted twelve books of anathemas against it. They say that he frequently ate meat and that one day, from eating so much, the food in his stomach became sour. Sick of it, he made a law [to the effect that] cheese and not meat be eaten for a two week holiday, which is called *Panruta* to this day. It is said that Julian, having come to Constantinople, ordered that all the foods sold be mixed with the blood of sacrificial animals. The blessed T'eodoros informed the Christians, and they said: "It is not lawful for us to eat meat these two [g36] weeks, but we must eat cheese instead." Thus *panrutek'* remained the same. In these days the venerable Garhnik found the remains of Saint Gregory in Maneay cave, and they buried him in T'ordan.

After Babgen, lord Samuel occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for five years. In this period there shined forth blessed Simeon the Stylite of Alexandria and Timothy the priest, a scholar of orthodox faith who wrote very technical books, collecting all the sayings of holy men against the heretics. But the Iranian king Peroz had a very ferocious nature, for which he [33] was slain by the Hephthalites. Then his brother Valash [(Vagharsh) 484-88] ruled. He made Vahan Mamikonean, Hmayeak's son, the *marzpan*. This Vahan garlanded the Church with rights and he checked [the advance of] the Alans. In his day lived the rhetorician and historian Ghazar P'arbets'i. After Samuel, lord Mushegh occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for eight years.

After Emperor Zeno, Anastasius [(Anastas) 491-518] ruled the kingdom. Together with Zeno [Anastasius] was considered orthodox, since he wanted to assemble a council against the illegal Council of Chalcedon, to strengthen orthodoxy. But he was poisoned to death. Following him Justin [(Yustinos) 518-27] ruled, an ignorant and godless man who filled the country with the blood of the orthodox; for he rekindled Chalcedon and [g37] he destroyed with persecution those who professed that the Corporeal Word had one nature.

After the Iranian king Valash, Kawad wore the crown [488-97], then Zhamasp, and again Kawad [499-531].

After Mushe, lord Sahak occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for five years, then lord K'ristop'or for five years; after

him, lord Ghewond for two years. In these times the sun [34] completely dimmed, and there was a severe famine. Then lord Nerses ruled for nine years. In this period lived Ezras Angeghats'i, a student of bishop Movses of Bagrewand, who increased the ranks of the rhetoricians. Movses' brother, Mampre, also returned to Armenia. They say that he was the third to write philosophy [in Armenian].

After Justin, his sister's son, Justinian [(Yustinianos) 527-65], wore the crown. His wife was the orthodox Theodora. She beseeched her husband to establish orthodoxy. Although he wanted to, he did not dare out of fear of the diophysites who threatened [him with] death.

A malevolent Jew came to Justinian, saying: "Candlemas-day ought to be celebrated on Christmas, as the Greeks do and not on Epiphany (the sixth of January)," for until that time all Christians held to the apostolic system, celebrating [g38] it on the fourteenth of February. The emperor accepted the impious man's words and sent [an order] to Jerusalem that it be so done. But the Jerusalemites did not agree to change the traditions of the holy Fathers, which until then had been observed.

Then the emperor ordered his general to forcibly make them switch and to kill anyone resisting. For the sake of [35] Truth, everyone turned to death; yet compassionate God did not disappoint those who believed in Him. Instead, He terrified the brazen ones with awesome wonders: the divine Right Hand appeared in the holy chapel and a bloody, awesome, luminous sign appeared in the sky. Frightened by this, they ceased their demanding. However, the next year the same agitation was stirred up, for [the emperor] ordered that resisters be severely crushed. But people chose death to life with guilty consciences. When benevolent God saw the faith of mankind, He visited His flock. The most blessed Mother of God appeared on a purple column holding in Her arms the infant Jesus. Water gushed forth from that column and all who washed with it were healed of their pains. And thus they stopped their futile demand [g39].

In the time of Justinian, the sun darkened for eighteen months, providing light for three hours a day and then nothing either day or night. In that year fruit did not ripen and it was as though the entire country was suffering from a long illness. There was an untimely pestilence, the likes of which had never occurred previously. First it began in Constantinople. On the first day, 5,000 people died; on the second day, 10,000; on the third day, 15,000; on the fourth day, 18,000; and so on until 300,000 were dying in one day. Carbuncles would appear on the hands of the stricken, and they would die [36] forthwith. A man would enter a house and see everyone dead. The pestilence spread throughout the entire country and many cities became uninhabited as a result. Only Hems survived, for its residents had taken refuge in the power of the head of John the Baptist which was located there. Justinian and Xosrov, king of Iran, became reconciled with one another and the covenant of all Christians flourished throughout the world.

Now Vahan Mamikonean passed in peace. After him his brother, Vard, ruled for three years and after him were Iranian *marzpan*s for three years. Then Mezhezh Gnuni [518-548] ruled for thirty-four years [g40].

After Nerses, lord Yovhannes occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for fifteen years. In this period the plague became severe, starting in the west. And in the capital of Armenia (*yostanin Hayots'*) a miraculous sign was seen, for a blazing fire burned the home of the Iranian *hamakar* who was the overseer of the land. Once they were unable to quench it, they took refuge in the cross of Christ and beseeched the deacons to quickly take the cross there. As soon as the redeeming symbol was taken near, the flame at once was extinguished. Seen by [37] everyone, they glorified the savior Christ and praised the Christian faith, in which the venerable Maxozh believed, a man who underwent martyrdom for Christ.

After Yovhannes, lord Movses occupied the *kat'oghikosate*. In his first year, the blessed Manachir, who was named Grigor, a Syrian (*razhik*), underwent martyrdom. And in his third year, the 553rd anniversary of the birth of Christ occurred, and the two hundred canons (which the learned Andreas, brother of bishop Mangnos arranged at the order of Emperor Constantine) were compiled, to complete the feast [g41] of Easter and other feasts. For after two hundred years, Easter fell on March 25th, while originally it was on April 4th. They

could not go back to the beginning [in this method of computing] for after March 25th was April 13th, and there were nine discrepant days among them. For that reason, the feast days of the different calendars began to be confused.

Patriarch Movses convened the wise men of that period (among them At'anas from the monastery of Saint Karapet (the Precursor)), and they established the Armenian Era, by which they corrected the days for Easter of our Lord, [38] as well as other feasts. However, they were unable to correctly arrange the ninth year. Now in the tenth year a certain Eas the Alexandrian, a strong and learned man, spoke out about the confusion which existed in all the churches. He called to himself the wise men from all peoples: Adde from Cappadocia, Gigan from Syria, Elogs from Greece, Phineas from Judea, John from Arabia, and thirty-six other men like himself and a multitude besides. Continuing [g42] the work of Andreas, they made it the same 532-year calendar. And they established an example beyond doubt, which was called Five Hundred, brilliant and faultless. They put at the beginning April 4th, so that as soon as the year 532 ended, the new cycle would be the same. Then they began to correct all the feasts and miracle-days of the calendar.

But they did not invite a certain Ironius, the court-priest of Justinian, and as a result, contempt for the meeting consumed him. As soon as the scholar Elogs took a copy of the calendar to the king, Ironius began to examine the fifth and sixth parts which had never been, since of the fifth and sixth parts, one was solar and the other, lunar. But Ironius made it the opposite, so that April 17th became the 16th, the 6th became the 7th. That 16 did not bring anything ill, [39] but the 6th being 95, Sunday reached us (?) While their 5th day, Saturday according to the workings of Ironius taking Easter after the Jewish calendar, and at the holy Council of Nicea they anathematized those who decreed not to celebrate Easter after the crucifixion [g43].

Now we [Armenians] commemorate it on the next Sunday, and so we were not corrupted by the anathema, since the Armenians being under the rule of the Iranians at the time, did not accept the erroneous version or the Council of Chalcedon. For after eight years, the corruption of the deed became manifest.

After Mezhezh, Iranian *marzpan*s ruled Armenia, for thirty-six years. During those years, the bishop of the Georgians died; coming to lord Movses, they asked him to give them a bishop. So he ordained a certain warden of his church named Kiwrion and gave him to them, trusting him to keep love and unity with the throne of Saint Gregory—for to that time, the Georgians received ordination from the Armenians.

After the death of Movses, this Kiwrion separated from the orthodox Church of Jesus and confessed the Chalcedonian doctrine, which heresy he had fermented in [40] from childhood, being on Greek land. He kept this evil in secret, the way fire is hidden under straw, but he did not dare reveal it during the lifetime of Movses.

After occupying the patriarchate for thirty years, lord Movses died, entrusting stewardship of the throne to Vrt'anes K'ertogh. As soon as Movses, bishop of Ts'urtaw, saw Kiwrion's depravity, he informed Vrt'anes, so that he might somehow help the deviant Kiwrion. He wrote many times, beseechingly, to stay clear of that ill-advised heresy. But Kiwrion not only did not accept what was written to him, but even persecuted bishop Movses. As soon as lord Abraham succeeded to the throne of the *kat'oghikosate* of the Armenians, after Movses, he also wrote letters reminding him of the error, two and three times. Kiwrion pretended that he thought the same way they did, and claimed that Movses was slandering him. Yet as soon as it was proposed to hold a meeting to examine and investigate this matter, Kiwrion openly confessed the Chalcedonian heresy.

Then, when Abraham saw that nothing helped matters, but that Kiwrion had become even more shameless, he wrote a circulating letter to his diocese that they not commune with [g45] the Georgians, either in Church, oath or marriage or in any [41] other spiritual matters, except in trade, as if they were pagans and so that spiritual harm not befall [the Armenians] through physical acquaintance. From that time forth, Georgian ordination which had been from the Armenians ended, since they started to follow the Greeks.

Bishop Uxtanes has accurately disclosed this to you, for he wrote about it in full—including the letters and replies and the bold words of bishop Petros who was a messenger from lord Abraham to Kiwrion, whom the Georgians called Gayl (Wolf) on account of his boldness.

After Emperor Justinian, another Justin [II, 565-78] ruled, an evil, obscene man responsible for killing many of the orthodox. He and the patriarch John were possessed and so strayed, and thus were killed. Then Tiberius ruled [II, 578-82], and after him Maurice [582-602].

Some say that the latter was from the village of Oshakan in Armenia; others say that he was from Taron. Because of poverty, he went to Constantinople, where, through a lucky accident, he became king. This is what happened [g46].

When Emperor Tiberius died, the nobles fought with one another, and would not be pacified. There was great [42] warfare amongst them, [since they thought that] the victor would be emperor. Now the patriarch went among them and convinced them to cast lots. Whoever won would have the kingdom and rule over the others. They [agreed to this] with oaths and written pledges. [The agreement was] that at daybreak they would open the great gate of the city, and the man who happened to appear (even if he was very humble) they would take to the royal palace. Then the princes would sit together and whomever he crowned would have the kingdom. All agreed to this, and the agitation ended.

When the appointed hour arrived, they opened the gate of the city and saw Maurice at the door, holding some sort of straw to sell, to satisfy his needs. The army seized him and took him to the bath, where they washed and dressed him in noble attire, and took him to the court. As soon as [g47] they told him why he was called, he demanded of them papers and oaths that those who had lost [in the contest for] the crown, not slay him. And they swore vehemently to him that he should remain unconcerned about that.

They all sat there filled with vain hopes, and each said to himself: "It might be me." There was the throne with the crown [suspended] above it, and there were the [43] [imperial red] shoes nearby. Then Maurice came among them and took the crown in his hands, and began to circulate among those seated. As soon as he came to the first he rejoiced, but the second one was saddened as soon as he walked past him, while his companion rejoiced. Thus did Maurice circulate among them two or three times, delighting then depressing them. Suddenly, Maurice went and sat on the throne and placed the crown on his own head. When everyone saw this they were astonished. But since they had sworn to obey anyone on whose head he placed the crown, they let it be. The patriarch came forward and put the shoes on his feet and prostrated himself, as did all the nobles, and they exclaimed: "Long live Emperor Maurice" [g48].

He convened a council of inquiry regarding the Chalcedonian heresy, and summoned the *vardapets* of Armenia. Vrt'anes and Grigor and other *vardapets* went, but in no way did they aid [align with] the Byzantines, and they returned anathematizing them. Armenian *naxarars*, escaping from the rule of the Iranians, came to Maurice seeking refuge. But Maurice, revealing his inhuman disposition, did not give them any largess. Instead he abolished the stipends which had been established for them by previous kings.

[44] It is said that he sent for his father to come to him and to enjoy his royal glory with him, or, if [he could] not [come], to send him advice by which he would be able to rule the kingdom.

When the messengers went to the father they found him tending his garden and told him the king's command. He replied: "I am not fit to be a king's father." And he began to uproot the largest cabbage heads in the garden, tearing the heads and covering them with earth; yet he nursed and cultivated the small ones. When the men saw this they assumed that he was daft and left him. But the men did not understand what he had done. When they went to the emperor, they told him everything and described the foolishness that had transpired in the garden.

As soon as Maurice heard it, he laughed and said nothing [g49]; but gathering those nobles he believed were plotting against his rule, he killed them all, so there would be no conspiracies against him, and he put lesser men in their positions. Calling those men he had sent to his father, he said to them: "This is my father's advice, which he gave in the garden and which you did not understand."

Some say that he was from the village of Arabisos (Arp'sus) in Cappadocia, which general Tiberius later made into a city.

[45] Maurice, together with his family and sons, died a miserable death, because of the severity of his ways. His troops, led by Phocas (which translates "fire") fell on him and killed him. Phocas ruled in his stead [602-610].

After Ormizd, king of Iran, Xosrov ruled with the aid of Maurice. During this period, Smbat Bagratuni organized many battles, displaying extreme bravery against Xosrov's foes, for which Xosrov honored him and gave him the *marzpanate* of Hyrcania. Smbat went and discovered there in Sagastan people [g50] who had been taken captive from Armenia who had forgotten their [native] language and literature, which Smbat restored. He had the *kat'oghikos* ordain a certain Habel as bishop and he founded a diocese of the throne of Saint Gregory there.

In the tenth year of lord Abraham and the thirty-seventh year of the Armenian Era [588], Syrians came to Armenia, eloquent men, who sought to implant the Nestorian heresy. They were anathematized and persecuted, but some people accepted [their creed]. They translated their false books: *Gortosak*, *Kirakosak*, the *Vision of Paul*, the *Repentance of Adam*, *Diat'ek*, the *Infancy of the Lord*, *Sebios*, the *Grapes of Blessing*, the *Unconcealable Writings*, and Mani's *Interpretation of the Gospel*. [46] Whoever believes them is anathematized by the orthodox.

After lord Abraham, the *kat'oghikosate* was occupied by lord Yovhannes from Bagaran village in Kogovit, for twenty-six years. Some historians say that both Abraham and Yovhannes died on the same day, while others deny it [g51].

Now when the Iranian king Xosrov learned of Maurice's death [d. 602], he sought to avenge him, for they were allies. He ruined many Byzantine districts. He sent his general Xorhian to Palestine to besiege the holy city of Jerusalem. He captured it and killed its inhabitants, and also captured the Cross of Christ, taking it to Iran. He went against Emperor Heraclius with many troops and placed the royal city of Constantinople in great straits.

But Emperor Heraclius, with the assistance of the Khazar king, the Xak'an, went to Iran, killed Xosrov, and returned the holy Cross to Jerusalem.

The residents of Tiflis ridiculed this Xak'an by taking a pumpkin and drawing a picture of the Xak'an on it as if blind, since their eyes are narrow and small. They then [47] placed the pumpkin on a wall facing him and began shooting arrows at it. When the Xak'an saw this he grew extremely angry but since it was wintertime he was unable to retaliate. However, upon the arrival of spring, he came and besieged Tiflis, captured it, and ordered that men, women, and children be killed. Then he wasted it, took the inhabitants' belongings, and went to his own city [g52].

Now after the slaying of the *marzpan*s Chih'r Burzen, Chih'r Vshnasp Suhen, Chih'r Vghon Mihran and others by the people from Tachkastan [the Arabs], Dawit' Saharhuni was the *marzpan* for thirty years. In his day, in the year 62 A.E. [613], the cathedral of Mren was constructed.

After lord Yovhannes, lord Komitas held the *kat'oghikosate* for eight years. Komitas built the beautiful and marvellous martyrium of the blessed lady Hrip'sime, for the prior structure was cramped. In [the old structure]

he found relics of the saints' bones, sealed with the rings of saints Gregory and Sahak. He did not dare open it, but instead sealed it with his own ring and buried it there. He wrote a *sharakan* [hymn] to the saints, each line in the order of the Armenian alphabet, which begins: "People devoted to the love of Christ" [g53].

[48] After King Xosrov of Iran, Kawad [II, Sheroe, 628] held the kingship. Kawad released from captivity the *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania/Aghuania, Viro, whom his father Xosrov had placed in prison. After Kawad, Artashir ruled, then Xorheam, at Heraclius' command. Then Born and Zarmanduxt—they were all short-lived—then Yazkert [III, 632-36/52].

After lord Komitas, lord K'ristap'or occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for two years, followed by Ezr for ten years.

Now Emperor Heraclius came to the city of Karin and held a council to which he summoned Ezr, the *kat'oghikos* of Armenia. However, Ezr did not take along very learned men (such as *vardapet* Yovhan Mayravanets'i who was extremely well-versed in Scripture). Ezr went and accepted the doctrine of Chalcedon. And the emperor gave him as a gift, a third of [the district] of Koghb, and all its salt [mines]. Then Ezr returned to Armenia and changed all the orthodox arrangements of the Church, and instead of readings from James and Cyril, he instituted readings from Artemon. The blessed *vardapet* Yovhan upbraided Ezr, saying: "Why did you ignorantly accept it, and alter the good arrangements of Saint Gregory which had been preserved among the Armenian people until today?" But Ezr, rather than regretting what he had done [g54] [49] persecuted the blessed man with insults, labelling him *Mayragomets'i*.

Now one of Yovhan's pupils named Sargis, brought forth a heresy, and Ezr aired it about that Yovhan was a heretic and had made [heretical] writings. Ezr anathematized him along with the other heretics, attributing to him the deeds of his student. Let no one dare to slander this holy man.

Yovhan went and selected for his dwelling a quiet place in the area around Getabak fortress; and he remained there, ever communing with God.

God produced a great miracle as a testimony of his holiness. For Yovhannes had a donkey which served his needs. A bear encountered the donkey and ate it. As soon as they informed Yovhannes of the event, he went and said to the bear: "Because you killed our servant, you should serve us in his place." And the bear went and served in all obedience, hauling things and doing all else for many years. Afterwards hunters chanced upon and slew the bear, thinking it wild [g55]. As soon as the brothers of the monastery saw what had happened, they threw the bear's body into a hollow.

[50] To this day, residents of various places go and take soil from the spot where the bear was buried. Through the prayers of Yovhannes, this soil is medicine for all pains inflicted by animals. Similarly the tomb of the saint is a curative for all pains, and works against dangers, for those who take refuge in the saint with faithful prayers.

After Dawit' Saharhuni, T'eodoros Rshtuni was the *marzpan* of Armenia for twenty-five years. Following Emperor Heraclius, his son Constantine [III, 613-41] ruled.

Now upon the completion of the year 618, reckoned from the birth of Christ, or 67 of the Armenian Era, a certain false prophet of the pagans appeared, corrupted by the heresy of Kerint'os and by the Arians. His name was Mahmet, an Ishmaelite, one of the sons of Hagar. When Mahmet went to Egypt to conduct business, he met in the Sinai desert a hermit named Sergis Bxiray, an Arian heretic. This Sergis taught Mahmet a false knowledge of God, praising before him the old laws given by Moses, and saying: "If you heed my words [g56], you will become leader and legislator of your people."

Mahmet was going on his way when suddenly an impure spirit entered him and he fell down frothing at the mouth [51]. Seeing this, his companions stood by him until he came to his senses somewhat, and then they

raised him up. Asked the reason for such frenzy, Mahmet replied: "It was delirium caused by a holy angel," and they dispatched him as a messenger to his people. Going to his native city he began to preach whatever the false Christian had taught him.

[Muhammad] had uncles who were chiefs. They persecuted him, threatening him to the point of death if they heard any more such words from him. Mahmet went to his house and sat there in sadness. Then Ali, his uncle's son and Mahmet's own brother-in-law entered and inquired as to the causes of Mahmet's sadness. And he answered: "Because I preached to them about God they threatened me unto death." Ali said: "Come, let us go and preach again. If they turn against us, let us put them to the sword." For Ali was a military man and he had military men with him. As soon as they began to preach, there was great agitation and war. Mahmet's side [g57] was defeated. Fleeing, they went to lesser Madiam where 12,000 Jews were assembled, [people] who had been persecuted by Emperor Constantine. Taking them, Mahmet went against those who had persecuted him and he destroyed them. Once the Jews saw this successful deed, they set Mahmet up as their leader. Other Madinites joined them and they became a large army. [52] They went against Palestine and beat the Byzantine army which had been stealing items from the commodities they traded.

As soon as they experienced victory, they went against the Iranian lordship and killed the Iranian king Yazkert. Thus ended the kingdom of the Iranian Sasanians. In this period, half the sun darkened from the fall month of Areg [the eighth month of the moveable Armenian calendar] to the summer month of K'aghots' [the fifth month of the calendar]. Then [the Muslims] released armies in three directions: one to Byzantium, under a certain Yaz and an advisor Yovel (who destroyed 70,000 Byzantines). The emir Uthman (Ot'man) and the general Mu'awiya (Mawie) were sent toward Iran. They defeated [g58] Mihrdat's 20,000 and Mushegh, the *sparapet* of Armenia with his brigades, and they ruled the entire territory of Armenia, Iran and Syria, Egypt, Media and Parthia. They began to propagate their faith, but were not accepted.

Now the people of Medina and their coreligionists requested laws from Mahmet and he gave them laws, disgraceful ones. He said that the Kingdom above the earth is corporeal, with food for the belly and marriage after resurrection and constant copulation with women who remained virgins. Mahmet taught laws contrary to the legislation of the Old and New [53] Testaments, to know the unworthy and to speak to the deviant. With special derision, he disgraced the covenant of God which Abraham had taken. For it is written: "Circumcise all of your male children on the eighth day." Now Mahmet decreed that people might circumcise whenever it suited them, irrespective of age, and not just men, but even women. And instead of a luminous baptism, which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed: "If someone is not born of water and fire, he will not enter the kingdom of God." Mahmet now said: "Work evil constantly and merely rinse with water, and dry." Mahmet, who was a prophet-legislator for seven years, said many other worthless, fanatical, heretical and ridiculous things, [59], and they destroyed Bznunik', Aghiovit, and Taron [translator's note: some mss. lack "and they destroyed..."].

Mahmet prohibited the use of the sword, and instead subjected the greater part of the world through words of counsel. And with an unbreakable oath, he sealed a written contract with Armenia that the land enjoy Christianity fearlessly; and he sold them their faith, from each house taking four *dram* and three *mot' xorbai*, which is wheat, a saddlebag, a hair rope and pair of gloves. Now from the priests, *azats*, and cavalry he did not order the tax collected. Those [54] governing the lands were called *amirmumnik'*. After the twentieth year of Mahmet, Abu Bakr (Abubakr), Uthman (Ot'man), and Amr held the kingdom of the Ishmaelites for thirty-eight years.

After Ezr, lord Nerses occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for twenty years. He built the martyrion of Saint Sargis which is in Dwin. During the destruction of 20,000 people in the city of Dwin by the Ishmaelites, the holy altar and basin were covered with the blood of those cut down, while [g60] more than 35,000 others were taken into slavery. The patriarch gathered the bones of the slain into the same chapel. He constructed the place of Saint Gregory[s imprisonment], Virap, and likewise built [the church of] Saint Gregory, which astonished those who saw it. This place was later ruined by the Tachiks.

Orthodox Syrians came to *kat'oghikos* Nerses requesting a bishop [ordained] by him. He demanded of them in writing a confession of the faith and the Syrians gave him [the following confession]: "We believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. In the Father, Whose paternity is unreachable, in the Son Whose birth is indivisible and in the Holy Spirit, Which is of the Father and through the Father and the Son It is worshipped and glorified"—a confession which is recited to this day in the service of the Armenian Church on the day of the Revelation of the Lord (*Chragaluts'i*). [55] Nerses ordained Abdisoy bishop [for them].

He chanced to be in Baguan with the multitude assembled for the feast of the Transfiguration (*Vartavarh*). The *sharakans* had so multiplied in the churches of Armenia, until what was sung in one district was not known in another. [In one district] they sang *sharakans* about the Transfiguration while another group of clerics could not adapt them. They substituted many *sharakans*, but these too were not known [g61]. Therefore, the patriarch Nerses, with the approval of all the attendees, selected the appropriate and useful from the *sharakans*, so that in every church of Armenia on every day, the service would be synchronized. They selected learned men to circulate throughout all of Armenia and establish this same order which is observed until today.

After Teodoros the *marzpan* of Armenia was Hamazasp, for seven years. After Nerses, lord Anastas occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for six years [661-67]. Anastas summoned to himself the great *vardapet* Anania from the district of Shirak (a learned and brilliant man, and very knowledgeable in all the calendrical systems) to establish an immovable Armenian calendar, as other peoples had. Anania worked on this with great effort, until they were ready to adopt it through an assembly. But just then, the holy Anastas died. Those succeeding him [56] as *kat'oghikos* neglected the matter and so they continued according to the former systems. In the fifth year of Anastas, a cathedral was built in the *awan* of Aruch. It was constructed by Grigor Patrik [Patrician], and was the church in which Dawit', the martyr of Christ, was baptised. Dawit', of Iranian origin, who was previously called Surhan, was hanged in Dwin for attesting Christ [g62].

After Hamazasp, the *marzpan* of Armenia was Grigor Mamikonean, for ten years. He was slain by the Khazars. Then Nerseh Shirakats'i was prince for three years.

After Anastas, lord Israyel was *kat'oghikos* for six years then lord Sahak [Dzorop'orets'i] for twenty-six years [677-703]. Sahak went as an emissary to the Ishmaelite general Mahmet [ibn Okba] who was coming to destroy the Armenian people because of their rebellion from the Arabs. Sahak reached Harran (Xarhan), where he fell sick and died. But even before Mahmet came to Harran, Sahak had written a letter of entreaty, saying: "I have come before you to beseech you on behalf of my people, however it has not come to pass that I will see you, for the Supreme Master of all life has summoned me. Now I swear to you, vowing by God, by Abraham and your father Ishmael, that you must do no evil to my people; rather, let [57] them pay taxes to you. If you heed my supplication, my blessings shall be upon you. But if you do not listen [g63] you will be cursed, and may God so turn the hearts of your soldiers that they not obey you. Choose one of these two."

Now when Mahmet came to Harran they told him everything and gave him the letter. When he had read it, he inquired "Where is his grave?" And they showed him the place [where Sahak lay], for he had just died and was not yet buried. Going there quickly, in accordance with their religion, [Mahmet] saluted the dead man as though he were alive. And they say that the dead body replied, receiving his greeting like a living man. Mahmet said: "From your writing I recognized you, oh man of God. I shall do all that you command." At once the hostility passed, and Mahmet sent *ostikans* to Armenia to lay taxes on them, while he himself returned to his own land. After Sahak, lord Eghia [703-717] occupied the *kat'oghikosate*.

Now after Heraclius, his son Constantine wore the crown. In his day the Ishmaelites attacked all lands. After Constantine, his homonymous son ruled. As for the principality of Ishmael, Mu'awiya took it after Abubak'r and Ot'man and Amr [g64].

[58] Now after Nerseh, Ashot (who was slain by the Arabs) held the office of *marzpan* for three years. Then

Nerseh Kamsarakan, for three years; after him Smbat Bagratuni Biwratean, for twenty years. He warred with the armies of the foreigners in the Vardanakert *awan* and courageously defeated them in the district of Bagrewand. In the thirteenth year of Mu'awiya, Mahmet released the waters of the Gegham sea and then took Sewan. In the sixteenth year of Mu'awiya's reign, Kasim *amir* destroyed the princes of Vaspurakan.

After Emperor Constantine, Justinian [II, Rhinotmetus, 685-95] ruled. His lords pounced upon him and cut off his nose. The emperor fled to the Khazars. Taking a wife from there, and also many troops, he returned and became emperor again. Then Leontius (Lewon, 695-98), then [Tiberius III] Apsimar (Ap'simeros, 698-705), then Justinian wore the crown for a second time [705-711], followed by Philippicus Bardanes [P'ilikos Vardan, 711-13], Theodosius [III (T'eodoros) 715-17], and Leo [III, the Isaurian (Lewon), 717-41].

After Mu'awiya, rule over the Ishmaelites was held by Yazid (Izid), then by Marwan (Plrvan) and then by 'Abd al-Malik (Abdmlelik'). It was this 'Abd al-Malik who immolated the [59] Armenian princes inside the churches of Naxchawan. Then his son Walid (Vlit'), and then Sulaiman (Suleman) ruled. The latter took Darband and ordered that the Gate there be pulled down. While they were pulling it down, they discovered a stone on which was written: "I Emperor Mankwon built this city's [g65] towers from my own treasury. In the last days this will be pulled down by the sons of Ishmael, and will be rebuilt at their expense." And when they saw this stone, they stopped their demolition and started to rebuild.

After Sulaiman, 'Umar (Omarh) held the lordship. It was 'Umar who wrote to the emperor Leo to get information about Christian doctrine. The emperor wrote an extremely learned reply, ridiculing 'Umar's faith. As soon as 'Umar read this, he was greatly embarrassed, and began to remove some of the loathsome things in their religion. Although he did not make bold to annul all the iniquities, nonetheless he righted many things in their disorder, and thereafter was well-disposed toward all Christians and especially toward the Armenian people. ['Umar] ordered that those who had been taken into captivity be repatriated to Armenia. At this time, lord Vahan of Gogh't'n was returned from captivity. He was martyred in the days of Sham Hisham (Hesham); after 'Umar, Yazid (Izit) took power, then Sham, then Walid (Vlit'), followed by Marwan [II, 744-50] [g66].

[60] Lord Yovhannes Odznets'i occupied the *kat'oghikosate* after lord Eghia. Lord Yovhannes [717-28] was a learned and holy man, attractive physically and even more so spiritually. [The Caliph] Hisham [724-43] summoned him to court, and honored him greatly for the comeliness of his appearance. Now [Yovhannes] had sprinkled gold dust in his beard [before] he went into [the Caliph's presence]. Seeing Yovhannes, Hisham was amazed at his handsomeness and mildly said to him: "They say about your Christ that he was very meek and humble and greatly loved poverty. The Christian order professes that those who are their leaders honor poverty and plainness more than luxury and riches. Then why are you so bedecked?" The blessed one replied: "You possess nothing more than your servant except a crown and royal dress, yet it is for these things that people fear and honor you. Our first Fathers were miracle-workers and undertook wondrous [spiritual] disciplines. For that reason, people who fell into their hands feared them and obeyed their commands with trepidation. But we are not like them. Therefore we adorn ourselves in clothes and fashion, so that they will not ignore our [g67] commands. Then, baring his breast, [Yovhannes] showed [Hisham] a hairshirt which was worn underneath his clothing. And he said: "This is my dress."

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

[61] The king marvelled and praised the beliefs of the Christians. He said to the blessed one: "Ask of me what you will and I will grant it to you." The patriarch responded: "I ask three things which are easy for you to grant. Do not force Christians to abandon their faith, but leave each to his wishes. Second, do not make the liberty of the Church subject to you through taxation, take nothing from the priests or deacons. Third, wherever there are Christians in your realm, let them perform their rites fearlessly. Give this to us in writing, and my entire people will serve you."

At once [Hisham] ordered that a document be written as requested, stamped it with his own ring, and gave Yovhannes many gifts. He mustered many troops to accompany him, and sent him to Armenia with great honor. When Yovhannes arrived [home] he persecuted all the Greeks in Armenia, both overseers and soldiers. The Greeks fled so quickly that they did not have time to take their treasures with them. So they buried them in the ground, wrote a description of the hiding place, and took the information with them [g68].

The blessed patriarch, placing our country under Ishmaelite rule, then convened a meeting in Manazkert to which he summoned [62] At'anas, the patriarch of Syria. [The latter] sent six bishops and anathematized the Julianites and those who said things that denied Christ, Barshapuh and Gabriel, the slanderers of the Armenians and Syrians; and he brightened the Church with canonical legislation, rejecting the Chalcedonian heresy which had spread disorder in Armenia in the days of Emperor Heraclius and the *kat'oghikos* Ezr. [Yovhannes] established readings for the feasts of the saints James and Cyril and for all the celebrations just as Saint Gregory had done. They celebrated the feasts of the prophet David and the Apostle James on the twenty-fifth of December—a day on which others celebrate Christmas. The *Harts' sharakan* ("We sin in everything and do not keep Your commands, now we confess to You") was sung then, as it still is today in the service of the churches of Armenia, from 175 of the Armenian Era [726], to 690 A.E. [1241] which is our day. Thus providing the land with all virtuousness, he occupied himself with doctrine and prayers. [Yovhannes] also constructed [g69] a large church in his village of Odzun (which is close to the city Lorhi) and he himself settled in a spot he had chosen for his residence, a short distance from the village.

One day, when the blessed one was at prayer, two frightful [63] dragons fell upon the residence of this virtuous one. When lord Yovhannes' deacon saw this, he was terrified, and clamored for the holy man's help. Lord Yovhannes made the sign of the Cross before them and the two dragons instantly turned into stone. They exist today. Water spurts from the belly of the dragons, and it is an antidote for all snake-bitten folk who turn to the saint with prayers. After being patriarch for eleven years, and having lived a virtuous life, lord Yovhannes reposed in Christ.

After [Yovhannes] lord Dawit' occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for thirteen years [728-41]. He was from Aramunik' in the district of Kotayk'. It was lord Dawit' who moved the *kat'oghikosal* see from Dwin to Aramonk'. There he built a church and a residence for the patriarch, for he had been troubled by the criminal nation of Mahmet. After Dawit', lord Trdat occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for twenty-three years. He was from Ot'mus village, a modest, blessed man, radiant in all virtue. In the days of Trdat, the maurauding of [g70] the Ishmaelites ceased. After Trdat, another lord Trdat became *kat'oghikos* for three years, then lord Sion for eight years. Lord Trdat was from Drasnawor, Buoyin and lord Sion was from Bagawan. Lord Sion caused a dry spring at the foot of Mt. Sim to flow again through [64] his prayers.

After Emperor Leo, his son Constantine [V, 740-75] ruled. He was known as Kawalinos [Copronymus], that

is "gatherer of dung." For when the Tachik army was encamped on the bank of the Halys river, Constantine ordered dung gathered and thrown into the river. When the Tachiks saw this they became terrified, thinking that the emperor's army numberless; and they fled from him. It is related that on one day he killed five lions, one after the other. He took the city of Karin. Two years later the *amir* Yazid rebuilt it.

After Marwan, the chief of the Ishmaelites was Abdla and then another Abdla, a foul and money-loving man, whom his people called Abdldang, that is, "father (or servant) of a penny," which is what that means in the Hagarenes' language. For he loved a penny more than he loved God. It was Abdldang who built Baghdad. He visited many ills on Armenia by [g71] tax demands and through ravaging; he placed the country into such straits that taxes were demanded from the living for the dead. The mining of silver was stopped in Armenia. The cities K'aghian, Mren, and T'alan were destroyed, 700 people were killed and 1200 were taken captive. Mushegh Mamikonean [65] and Samuel, with others of the Armenian *azats* were killed by the Ishmaelites during the days of Easter.

At this time, in the year 222 A.E. [773], Step'annos, the court-priest, who was recognized as an eloquent man, attained mastery of all scholarly and grammatical knowledge, with spiritual virtue. In Armenia there were select, enlightening *vardapets* then, [among them] lords Ep'rem, Anastas, Xach'ik, and Dawit' Horhomayets'i, and the great scholar Step'annos Siwnets'i, a pupil of Movses, whom we recalled above. Step'annos was a translator from the Greek to the Armenian language who, beyond his translations, wrote spiritual songs of sweet melody, *sharakans*, *kts'urds* (anthems), and other songs. He also wrote brief commentaries on the Gospels, on grammar, on the Book of Job and [the hymn] "Lord, that the edge of night..." (*Ter et'e shrt'ants'n gisheroy*) [g72].

It is said that from childhood, the blessed Step'annos was versed in the writings of holy men. *Aspet* Smbat, a Diophysite, was antagonistic toward Step'annos. So Step'annos left him in disagreement and went to Rome where he found a certain orthodox hermit with whom he stayed and from whom he learned. Now when Smbat heard about this, he wrote to the Byzantine emperor [informing him] that Step'annos was a heretic who anathematized the emperor's confession, and that he was [66] staying with a certain hermit named such-and-such. The emperor became furious and ordered Step'annos to court. But the hermit first advised him to say about himself: "I am a beggar and a wanderer." When the emperor heard this, his angry rage subsided. Becoming bold, Step'annos entreated the emperor to open the trunks of sacred writings for him. Finding there a book with golden letters containing an account of the faith, he showed it to the emperor. [The latter] upon reading it, sent Step'annos to the city of Rome to bring thence three similar books about the true faith, so that the country be converted to that religion [g73].

Now Step'annos, heedless of the emperor's order, took the books from Rome and went to the city of Dwin in order to enlighten his country with them. And lord Dawit' ordained Step'annos as bishop of Siwnik', at the request of K'urd and Babgen, princes of Siwnik'. After occupying the episcopacy for only a year, [Step'annos] was slain by a whore from Moz district. His body was taken to a chamber in Arkaz; from there they laid it to rest in the monastery of T'anahat.

The venerable Step'annos brought the writings to the bishopric of Siwnik'; three ranks for the bishops of Armenia were established.

[67] Now a certain cenobite named Noah (Noy), saw a vision in which Step'annos' breast was covered with blood as he stood before the Savior, saying: "Behold this, Lord, for Your judgements are righteous." Notifying the cenobites in the district about the coming wrath, he admonished them to pray.

Then behold, from On High an impenetrable darkness enveloped the borders of Moz, and the place shook for forty days. Ten thousand people were buried [in the earthquake], for which reason the place was called Vayots' Dzor [Valley of Sighs], as it still is today. For those in pain, and those who are ill [g74], there is much healing in Step'annos' relics, for those who seek the blessed man's intercession. In this world God glorifies

those who glorify Him, while in the next world, He gives them the good things He has prepared, [things] "which eye has not seen, which ear has not heard, and which the heart of mankind has not experienced [I Corinthians 2, 9]."

Then by the grace of God lord Esay from the village of Eghapatrush was called to tend to the needs of his people, [first] in the orders of priest and bishop and [later], worthily, as patriarch for thirteen years. After his death Ibn Dukl (Ipndokl) robbed the Church; and lord Step'annos ruled for one year, by means of numerous bribes. He was [68] from Ostan of the Curopalate [Dwin]. After him, lord Soghomon, a very old man from Makenots'ats' monastery, ruled for one year. After him, lord Georg reigned for three years. He was from Aragatsotn and was called Xoyl Orbuk. After him lord Yovsep' ruled for eleven years. He was from Aragatsotn, from the dwelling of Saint Gregory [g75].

Leo [IV, the Khazar, 775-80] wore the crown after Emperor Constantine, and following Leo were Constantine [VI, 780-97] and his mother Irene [(Erhine), regent 780-90, 792-97]. In these days there came a halt to the use of images in Rome.

[At Rome] they observed a large marble coffin, were astonished by it, and ordered that it be opened. They found written in [the coffin]: "What use it is to conceal me, for in the days of Constantine and his mother Irene, I will see the sun again." After a joint reign of ten years, Constantine deposed his mother and ruled alone for seven years. But then the mother seized the son, gouged his eyes out and herself reigned for five years. After her, Nicephorus [I (Nikip'or) 802-811] reigned. In his time two Ishmaelite brothers, Sahak and Yovsep' underwent martyrdom in Christ in the city of Karin, on the fifteenth of [the sixth month of the Armenian calendar] Arats'. After Nicephorus, Michael [I (Mik'ayel), Rhangabe 811-13] ruled; [69] and in his days a severe general famine occurred. On one day, 3,000 people were found dead in the city of Karin. Leo [V, the Armenian, 813-30] ruled after Michael. He threw down the images and built Biwzu and Arkadupolis.

Now fifty-four years after the immolation of the Armenian [g76] princes in Naxchawan, Ashot Bagratuni became the *marzpan* of Armenia, ruling for seventeen years, He was succeeded by Smbat for twenty-two years, Ashot Msaker, twenty years, and Ashot's son Smbat, who was called Ablabas, for thirty-five years. The latter built the lavishly ornamented blessed chapel (*k'awaran*) at Erazgawors, which is presently called Shirakawan.

Now after Abdlay, the kingdom of the Ishmaelites was led by Mahadi, Muse, Aharon, Sahamad; then by Mahmud, Abusahak Mahmet, and Aharon.

After Yovsep', lord Dawit' from the village of Kakagh in Mazaz, was *kat'oghikos* for twenty-five years; after him, lord Yovhannes from the village of Ovayk' in Kotayk', for twenty-two years. In the seventh year of his reign, some slanderers from his House began to utter accursed things [70] about the blessed man. These blabbers were tortured to death just like those who were with the bishop of Jerusalem, Narcissus (Narkesos). After Yovhannes, lord Zak'aria from Dzag village in Kotayk' ruled [854-76], on one and the same day being entrusted with everything: the deaconhood, the priesthood and the *kat'oghikosate* [g77]. This holy and virtuous man was *kat'oghikos* for twenty-two years.

In these days a certain criminal and God-hating man named Ja'far (Jap'r) rose to the head of the Ishmaelites. He was very envious of Christ and charmed many into apostasy, while torturing to death those who did not accept. He wrought much evil in the lands under his rule, and especially in Armenia, through killings and enslavements. For he had sent an *ostikan* named Apuset' who had come and captured the prince of Taron, Bagarat, and many other people. Now when the inhabitants of the Xut' mountains, called Sasun, heard about this affair, they came and killed Apuset'. When Ja'far was informed of this, he became furious, and sent to Armenia a commander named Bugha, a Turk, a wily and criminal man. Bugha came and ravaged Armenia through treachery and wars and led away many people to Samara in captivity, taking Smbat *asparapet* of Armenia to Ja'far. Now Ja'far [71] put Smbat into jail so that he renounce Christ; but instead of accepting the

impious command, Smbat boldly confessed Christ, and was kept in that prison until he died. Smbat inherited the name "the Confessor." Many others were martyred for Christ, dying wickedly [g78].

A certain Syrian deacon named Nana was taken before Ja'far because of the renown of his preaching. [Nana] boldly confessed Christ before him. They tortured him and imprisoned him for a long time, but later he was released through the attention of God; and he wrote a commentary on the Gospel of John, with radiant words. Similarly, Step'annos, (called Kon), one of the Armenian princes, underwent martyrdom for Christ; and many denied the true God out of fear of death. [Ja'far] occasioned many other evils throughout the world, information about which you will find in the writings of Tuma and Shapuh and other authors.

In the year 194 A.E. [745], which is 1073 of the Syrians, Ja'far built Baghdad on the Tigris river, four days journey from Babylon. [In this time] a woman was born, and lived for thirty years not eating anything at all.

After the death of Smbat the Confessor, his son Ashot [I, 885-890] ruled the kingdom. He was viewed as [72] greater than all of his predecessors, since after holding the *sparapetut'iwn*, he was prince of princes and then [g79] received crowns from two kings, Ishmaelite and Byzantine. After Ja'far, Mahmet wore the crown, then Ahmat, Abdla, and Mahmet. The latter designated Ashot the prince of princes and then gave him a crown.

Michael wore the crown after Emperor Leo; then followed Theophilos, Michael and Basil [I (Vasil), 867-86] whom they say was from T'il village in Taron. He built the holy church of Zoravar [the General]. Basil again sent a crown to Ashot, in addition to the one the Ishmaelites had sent. Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople sent a letter to Ashot together with a piece of the Cross of the Lord. At Ashot's order, the *vardapet* Sahak wrote a reply to Photius, beautiful and wise.

From the fall of the Arsacid kingdom until the [establishment of the] Bagratid kingdom, 434 years had transpired.

In 334 A.E. [885], Ashot reigned, a God-fearing, benevolent man, an adorer of the Church, and a lover of the services of God. He embellished the churches of Armenia with great ornaments and brightness [during] thirty-two years [73] as prince of princes, and five years as king of Armenia. [g80] Then he passed to Christ, dying peacefully, possessing the correct doctrine. Afterwards his son Smbat ruled for twenty-four years [d. 914]. The latter underwent martyrdom in Christ at Dwin—hanged from a tree by Yusup', Apuset's son.

Lord Georg from the town of Garhni occupied the *kat'oghikosate* after Zak'aria. He had been taken captive by the Ishmaelites, and the princes of [Caucasian] Aghbania/Aghuania went and freed him. After him lord Mashtots' was *kat'oghikos* for one year. He was a blessed and virtuous man, filled with brilliance and wisdom and he dwelled on the island in lake Sewan practising great asceticism—wearing a single garment and walking barefoot—for forty years he ate no bread and drank no water. It was lord Mashtots' who established the book (which is called *Mashtots'* after him), gathering together all the ordered prayers and readings, arranged with an appendix which itself has all the orders of Christian faith. Reaching a ripe age, he gloriously reposed in Christ. His body was placed in the cemetery in Garhni close to the marvellous grave of Trdat. They built a beautiful church over him. Lord Yovhannes succeeded Mashtots' on the patriarchal throne [897/98]. He was lord Mashtots' pupil and relative, and he reigned for twenty-eight years. He was a wise [g81] [74] logical man from the town of Garhni, where the blessed patriarch Georg was from. He wrote a well-arranged history detailing the great evils wrought by the lawless people of Hagar throughout the world.

At this point I would like to repeat some things about the disintegration of unity among the wicked Hagarene people. For our Savior and God, Lord Jesus Christ said: "A kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed [Matthew 12.25; Luke 11,17]," just as theirs was, for it was split into many lordships. Thus Sop'ar ruled the land of Khurasan, while in Basra city Awalik Aput'orosp ruled, Yise's son Shaxa ruled in Palestine, the son of Apltulip in the land of Daylam [Delm] and various others in different places stirred up agitation, trying to rule over their regions by force. Therefore it was difficult to find the names of the impious [rulers]; but those who

ruled unleashed upon our land wicked and inhuman *ostikans*, such as the beast-like Bugha and the more wanton Ap'shin, son of the criminal Apuset' who had come [to Armenia] before, and the yet more wicked corrupter [g82] Ap'shin, who killed King Smbat in Dwin. Yusup' set up as king a certain Gagik, son of Derenik, from the Artsrunid House, a good God-loving man, son of the sister of King Smbat Bagratuni. He built a royal city and church of astonishing, radiant construction on the island of Aght'amar in the Bznunik' Sea [Lake Van].

[75] All of these wicked overseers came to our country to loot and destroy until the kingship of the *amirmunik'* ended, and they were replaced by the Scythians [(Skiwt'ats'ik'), i.e., the Saljuqs]. They were not civilized folk, but barbarians who had defeated and subjugated many people and ruled themselves. Among those subdued were the Tachiks [Arabs]. But since we have not found their names recorded anywhere, we cannot register them here. Count them not among those in the Book of Life, but rather as monuments of impiety. So let us forsake them and their generals as hopeless men who have been expelled from the mansions of God.

At the beginning of the rule by the Turks, fifty men of Armenian nationality, put into straits by them [Saljuqs] went armed into the desert and came to Marash. They found a courageous man named Philaretus (P'ilartos), an Armenian, and they set him up as leader. Entering Cilicia they took the whole country where the Rhubineans of the royal house ruled [g83]. The wise *vardapet* called Sarkawag wrote about the reasons for [the Saljuqs'] rule up to the time of Sultan Melik'shah, and Samuel the priest repeated him. He wrote about [Malik-Shah's] father and grandfather, named Tughril *bek*, Mahmut and Salchuk.

But we shall return to where we left off, saying with [76] our spirits raised: "They were rejected by You; we are Your people and the sheep of Your flock."

After the death of Smbat Bagratuni, the Armenians were ruled by his son Ashot [II, Erkat', 915/22-929] at the order of Emperor Romanus for eight years. This was seven years after the murder of his father. After Emperor Basil, Leo ruled, then Alexander. After him was Romanus [I, Lecapenus, 919-44]. He persecuted all the Armenian clerics and priests on Byzantine territory because they did not accept the doctrine of Chalcedon. [These clerics] came to Armenia in the days of Abas, son of Smbat, and founded the monasteries of Kamrjadzor and Kaputk'ar in the Arsharunik' district and the famous monastery called Horhomos and Dprevank' in the Shirak district. In the monastery called Sanahin [g84] they built a church in the name of the most holy Mother of God in the boundaries of the city of Lorhe. Because the priests were called "Horhomots'" priests, they named a monastery in Shirak Horhomots' monastery; and to this day it is called Horhomets'i monastery.

After Romanus, Constantine, the son of Leo ruled and then Romanus [II, 959-63] and after him Nicephorus and after him Kirhzhan [John I, Tzimisces, 969-76].

[77] Now after Yovhannes, lord Step'annos occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for one year. Then lord Teodoros for eleven years, then lord Eghise for seven years, then lord Anania of Mekk' [Anania I Mokats'i, 946-68] for twenty-two years.

In his day, there was a bishop from the Siwnik' area named Yakob who started to introduce new customs of speech and ritual, and there was another bishop, Xosrov by name, who stated: "It is not right to call the Lord's day *kiwrake* but [it should be] *kiwrhiake*, for it is Greek." He likewise said to let children's hair grow, not to cut it until it became long and formed a wall (*pat*), because they are so styled youths (*patani*). Then he ordered [that the hair] should be cut (*ktrel*) since [young men] are called braves (*ktrich*). And he said: "It is not necessary for a bishop to give gifts to the head bishop, that is, to the *kat'oghikos*, for the latter has no more holiness than the former, only a different title." Thus he filled the country with such foolish words; and, because of these new ways, agitation was stirred up everywhere [g85].

Lord Anania wrote advisory letters [to Yakob], urging him to stand clear of ill-advised and vain things. But he, instead of regretting what he had done, became yet more brazen, thinking himself a learned man and the others ignorant. It was necessary to write to him two and three times. Other wise *vardapets* [78] wrote to him reminding him of the details of the ritual according to Scripture. But he continued in the same sacreligious ways, denouncing everyone. Then he, Yakob, rebelled from the *kat'oghikos*, and holed up in the fortress of Siwnik'. The *kat'oghikos* excommunicated him and wrote to the lady (*tikin*) of Siwnik' to hand him over, for him to counsel so that he might come to repentance. But they did not hand him over and he excommunicated them. [Yakob] held the same beliefs until his death. Then lord Anania went to Siwnik' to quell the rebellion. When the princes of Siwnik' heard of the patriarch's coming, they went before him confessing their sins. They gave him a written oath that they would no longer rebel against the throne of Saint Gregory, from generation to generation. Then [Anania] ordained a certain archbishop from their line, who previously [g86] occupied the bishop's throne in Siwnik'. He did this in honor of the princes of Siwnik', ordering that a cross be borne before the archbishop of Siwnik' wherever he went.

After the death of lord Anania, his throne was occupied for one year by Vahan from Baghk'. He negotiated unity of faith with the Georgians. For this action, many bishops and devout monks who recognized and confirmed the heretical bent of his beliefs, gathered in the fortress of Ani in the kingdom of Ashot, son of Abas. He wanted to bring back the images, to restore the Chalcedonian heresy. Confirming him [79] a heretic, they persecuted him. United, they seated on the throne of Saint Gregory the Illuminator Step'anos, a blood relation of that holy man of God, Mashtots', from the island of Sewan. He followed [Mashtots'] conduct, and held the patriarchate for two years. But since Vahanik was still alive in Vaspurakan, some simple-minded creatures were convinced that it was wrong to consider him schismatic. Therefore anathemas arose in the midst of Armenia. But at the command of God, both of them died in the same year; and for one year the throne of the patriarchate was left unoccupied. Then, at the command of King Ashot (called "the Merciful") select men and holy bishops assembled and seated on the patriarchal throne the venerable man of God lord Xach'ik, a relative of the great patriarch lord Anania. A lover of the saints and of Christ, he bridled the tongues of schismatics with the words of doctrine. He occupied the throne for nine years and ten months. He was followed by lord Sargis [Sargis I Sewants'i, 992-1019] who ruled for twenty-four years [g87].

After Ashot, his son Smbat (called Shahnshah) ruled. During his reign the walls of Ani were topped with lofty towers and with wide places, from the Axurean river to the place known as Tsaghkots'adzor. He laid the foundation for a glorious cathedral in the same city, though he was unable to complete it, since death overtook him. He ruled for thirteen years.

[80] In these days the Christ-loving prince Vahram began construction of the renowned monastery called Marmashen.

After [Smbat] his brother Gagik ruled for twenty-nine years. He built the beautiful church of Saint Gregory above Tsaghkats'or, taking as a model the charming church of Saint Gregory which patriarch Nerses built. It was completed in the 1000th year of the corporealization [g88] of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the year 447 of the Armenian Era [998]. His wife, Queen Katramite, finished the holy cathedral which King Smbat was unable to complete, and Smbat Magistros built the desirable monastery called Bagnayr.

After Emperor Kirhzhan, Basil [II, Bulgaroconus, 976-1025] wore the crown for fifty years, He was a kind man, especially toward the Armenian people; for he abandoned the Chalcedonian heresy and followed our true path. He came to Cilicia and was baptized by Armenians in a monastery called Paghakdziak. He gave to the monastery villages, fields, and many other things.

After lord Sargis, lord Petros [Petros I, Getadardz, 1019-1058] occupied the Armenian *kat'oghikosate* for thirty-nine years, After Gagik Shahnshah, his son Yovhannes ruled for twenty years.

[81] In his day the very distinguished Vest Sargis, after building many fortresses and churches, built the

glorious monastery of Xts'konk' and a church in the name of Saint Sargis; and making Tsarak'ar monastery a fortress, he built stronger walls and glorious churches in it.

But King Yovhannes, filled with resentment for patriarch Petros, put him in jail. Then [g89] he brought and ordained as *kat'oghikos* in place of Petros a certain Deoskoros, head of the monastery called Sanahin.

Then the *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania/Aghuania, Yovsep', arrived, reconciled the king and the patriarch, and removed the *kat'oghikos* from prison.

As soon as the common people of the city of Ani saw that the *kat'oghikos* had been released from prison, they boldly pounced upon Deoskoros and tore the veil from his face on the day of the Revelation of the Lord, while he was blessing the waters; for the *kat'oghikoi* in those times wore veils. The people expelled him from the city with insults and placed Petros on his patriarchal throne. Sadly, Deoskoros went to his home at Sanahin. His life ended there and he was buried close to the church.

[82] In the days of the princship of Zak'aria and of the leadership of Sanahin by the venerable *vardapet* Grigor Tuteordi, the inhabitants of the city of Ani sent to a stone-cutter in the same city of Sanahin [requesting] that he take a part of the relics of Deoskoros and send them to Ani, openly or secretly, "For it was because of him that this [g90] ruin befell us from foreigners. Perhaps he will forgive the city for the brazen behavior our fathers displayed toward him."

The stone-cutter went in the night and tried to open the grave and take some relics from it, but he was seized with great trepidation and was unable to do it. So he went to *vardapet* Grigor and told him what had happened, saying: "I do not dare do this deed until an assembly of the multitude of Ani's residents come here and together we seek permission from his relics." But this proposal was delayed, for no one concerned himself with the matter.

After Yovhannes, Gagik, son of Ashot ruled the kingdom for two years. Now after the death of Yovhannes also called Smbat, the princes, army, and more so the patriarch Petros met at the court of the glorious *kat'oghikos*ate in Ani and placed as king over themselves Gagik, Yovhannes' brother's [83] son, sealing oaths vowing to serve him with unanimity. But Gagik had no interest in military affairs, with which the world is conducted, even though in that period it was necessary to be bold, since the rule of the Ishmaelites was in confusion because the Scythians [the Saljuqs] had attacked them, as we explained earlier. Similarly the Byzantines were in agitation [g91]. But as [Gagik] was trained from childhood in literature, he diverted himself with that. When the Byzantines learned about this, they called him to them with tricks [at the urging of] the princes who had betrayed the oath they had made [to Gagik] to keep his sovereignty over themselves and not to break the oath. And the deed that was done brought ruin to people and to the land, for the Greeks put the journeyor into exile on an island and appointed overseers to occupy his place, for one year.

Now the inhabitants of our land rose up against one another with unseemly insolence and in deception, lying and thinking up plots with which to betray each other to the emperor, accusing each other of giving aid to the Hagarenes, accusing the princes, the patriarch, and *vice versa*, and forcibly removing each other from their abodes. Those remaining were as though lordless. The Byzantines ruled for twenty-one years.

[84] After this a stormy wind moved from the south and brought a man-devouring beast which annihilated our country with fire, and especially the city of Ani for it was besieged for twenty-seven days; then finally when they took it they destroyed the inhabitants of the city of Ani. The bloody beast called Alp Arslan [(Alpaslan), 1063-1073] did not spare a single one [g92].

Then the royal wand fell from our hands. For though there were lordships in some areas, such as that of Kiwrike of the Bagratids in the city of Lorhe and the area around it, or that of the other Gagik, king of Vanand and Kars who went to the Byzantines, nonetheless, the chief [kingdom] ended in the days of Gagik;

others surrendered themselves to the dragon, while others fled to the emperor of the Byzantines. And they ruined the entire country. To those who emmigrated, the Byzantines gave lands and cities in the areas of Caesarea and Sebastia, which was given to the two king Gagiks.

Now the emperor honored *kat'oghikos* Petros greatly and seated him on a throne of gold. As soon as [Petros] arose from the chair and wanted to go out, a bishop named Eghishe started to take the gold chair which the *kat'oghikos* had been sitting on. However, the court servitors did not [85] let him proceed. And the emperor asked the bishop: "Why did you do that?" [Eghishe] replied: "It is our law that only the [g93] *kat'oghikos* may sit on his chair. No one else has the right to do so." The emperor was surprised at the honor which the bishop displayed toward the *kat'oghikos* and he ordered the servitors to allow him to take it. And he said [to Eghishe]: "That chair is worth 7000 *dahekans*. Take it and keep it to honor your *kat'oghikos*."

On the day of the Revelation of the Lord, all the Christians and many other people assembled in the city of Trabizond for the Blessing of the Water, as is Christian custom. Because of the great envy which the Greeks had toward the Armenians, they positioned patriarch Petros and his people upstream, and themselves down the river. They did this with the thought that since the blessing of the Armenians was considered defective by them and since they were downstream, [the Greeks] would bless again that which had been blessed by the Armenians. They had trained a white dove to come, dip into the water and then rise from it; thus did they trick those unaccustomed to such things [into thinking] that the Holy Spirit had descended in the likeness of a dove.

When patriarch Petros prayed, the water began to run upstream, and an intense light arose, which dimmed the rays [86] of the sun. Then when their dove came to dip into the water as was the custom, suddenly an eagle swooped down [g94], snatched the dove, and flew off. All the Greeks were greatly ashamed and praised the faith of the Armenians, despite themselves.

The emperor ordered the *kat'oghikos* to place his throne in Sebastia and to direct his flock from there.

The patriarch remained there until his death. They buried him there in Sebastia, after a rule as *kat'oghikos* of thirty-nine years. After him lord Xach'ik ruled briefly.

Then gathering together in one place, the Armenians placed lord Vahram (whom they called Grigoris) on the patriarchal throne. He was from the city of Bjni, son of Grigor Magistros, grandson of Vasak the martyr, and was a learned and virtuous man.

He beseeched his father to expound grammar, since he was a scholar, and [Grigor Magistros] did this eloquently. This wonderful patriarch translated from Greek and Syrian many homilies about the martyrs of God and homilies of praise.

After some time he decided to travel to the city of Rome to revere the holy relics of the Apostles Peter and Paul; [87] sharing in this plan was a certain *vardapet* Georg. Calling his flock together, bishops and elders and princes, [Grigoris] told them about his plan. [The audience] burst into [g95] bitter tears and pleaded with him not to leave them orphans without a pastor. But he said to them: "I have made a vow, and it is impossible for me to break it. Find yourselves someone and I will ordain him to serve in my stead." That *vardapet* Georg, about whom we spoke above, was the messenger. When he saw that the people did not accept this decision, and kept persisting in their supplications and found no one to replace Grigoris, Georg said to the people: "Why do you beseech him so? He has taken an oath to leave and I am familiar with his plan, which cannot be changed now. Here, let him ordain me as his replacement."

As soon as the *kat'oghikos* heard this he was astonished and filled with wrath, for Georg had sworn to accompany him. But against his will he ordained him and set off on his way. And Georg occupied his throne.

When the blessed patriarch went to Rome, the Frank people honored him greatly. Upon fulfilling his vow, Grigoris took a boat to Constantinople, for translation-related work. But a windstorm arose at sea and it took the boat by a different [88] route, landing them in Egypt. Those servants he had with him were fearful, because it was a custom of the country's inhabitants to plunder storm-tossed boats and to kill survivors [g96].

The blessed patriarch Grigoris prayed and hard rains fell in Egypt, something which had never happened before. As soon as the inhabitants of the land saw this they were terrified, but the Hagarene who ruled over them was a wise man. He called his troops and said to them: "You yourselves know that in Egypt, from the beginning until now, [such] rain has not fallen; there was hail only in the time of Moses and rain, once, when Jesus came. Therefore, this is the portent of the arrival of a wonder-worker. Go, see, ask him who he is."

Searching throughout the country the troops found Grigoris with his servants, praying by the shore of the sea. They took them to the sultan. The sultan asked: "Was it on your account that these rains came?" And they replied: "Yes." And the sultan said: "What was it that you were praying for?" And they answered: "We fear the custom of the country to kill those who are tossed onto the shore, shipwrecked from the sea." And they told everything correctly. At this the sultan was amazed, lauded their faith and said to the patriarch: "Go sit on the patriarchal throne of Markos in Alexandria, and [89] let all Christians under my sway obey you." And he gave [g97] him many presents and entertained him like his father. And from that time on, the See of Alexandria obeyed the See of Saint Gregory [the Illuminator]. [Grigoris] lived and died there with praise, blessed in the glory of God.

King Kiwrike of the Bagratids was the son of Dawit', son of Derenik, who built the famous monasteries of Haghat and Sanahin. When Kiwrike saw that lord Grigoris had left his throne and gone to Rome, he called to him lord Yovsep', *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania/Aghuania, and had him ordain lord Barsegh *kat'oghikos* of Armenia. They ordained as bishop of Haghat a certain of Kiwrike's court-priests, named Sargis. And thenceforth, [Haghat] became the throne of a bishop. After Sargis, the bishop was Georg, and after him Barsegh. Barsegh was a handsome man. When Queen T'amar of Georgia saw him, she greatly honored him because of his good looks and because his brothers were officials in the royal house.

After Barsegh [the bishop of Haghat] was the blessed Grigoris, a relative of princes Zak'are and Iwane. He lived in our own time.

After him [the bishop] was Yovhannes, a modest and virtuous man, related to the princes of Xach'en. He tore [90] down the small portico at the door of the cathedral of Haghat, reconstructing it large and beautiful, bewildering the viewer with delight [g98].

After him another Yovhannes, the sister's son of princes Zak'are and Iwane, and the previous Yovhannes' brother's son [was bishop of Haghat]. This Yovhannes built a fortress with sturdy walls between Haghat and Sanahin. On account of this fortress, discord arose between the two great monasteries, to the effect that it was on land belonging to Sanahin. Prince Shahnshah, Zak'are's son, avenged Sanahin since his father was buried there and he considered it their property (*sep'hakan*), for Haghat was under the Georgian kings' control at that time. As soon as bishop Yovhannes died, they pulled down the walls of the fortress on orders from the T'at'ars.

After the death of bishop Yovhannes, Yovhannes (son of Aghsart'an from Matsnaberd) from the Bagratid family occupied his position for two years. He was not ordained bishop due to the confusion reigning at the time; but later he was ordained by the *kat'oghikos* Nerses of Aghbania/Aghuania, for the Matsnaberd area.

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

After [Yovhannes] the bishop was Hamazasp from the city of Ani. He built a wondrous church and a place to hang the bell, and [g99] [91] a great and marvellous refractory.

But let us turn from these matters and return to where we were. The *kat'oghikosate* of Armenia was divided into many parts. There were the lords Grigoris Vahram in Egypt, and Georg in the west and another one on the island of Aght'amar in Vaspurakan, and lord Barsegh in Armenia. It was divided into many parts.

Gagik, king of Kars went to see the Byzantine emperor, since he was under his authority. Returning home, he went to Caesarea. He had heard that a certain Markos, the metropolitan of Caesarea, had a dog which was given the name Armen, on account of the hatred which the Greeks have toward the Armenians. And he called him by this name since all peoples call the Armenians Armen on account of the bravery of Hayk's descendant Aram.

King Gagik went and took lodging with the metropolitan, who received him gladly.

When they were in their cups, the king spoke: "I have heard that you have a fine dog. Show me, let me see him."

The metropolitan said: "There he is, by the door across [92] [g100] from us."

And the king said: "Call him so he will come here." The metropolitan then called the dog, but by another name, not its real one. However, the dog did not jump up, and did not come in. The king said: "Now call him by his real name." And as soon as the metropolitan uttered "Armen, Armen" the dog immediately bounded up and came. The king asked: "Why do you call him by that name?" The metropolitan answered: "Because he is small." Then the king ordered his servants: "Bring a large sack and throw the dog in it." They were barely able to do this. The bishop thought that Gagik wanted to take the dog away with him, and so he got angry at the king's servants. Then the king said: "Throw the bishop in there too, so I may see if the dog is as small as he says." Now the bishop wept and pleaded with the king to forgive his crime. But the king angrily declaimed: "Strike that dog with a goad so they will eat each other up." And they struck the dog. The animal, smarting from the pain, mauled the metropolitan, tearing him to bits with its teeth and paws until he died. Then the king said: "Now you know whether Armen is small or not."

[93] Then [Gagik] sacked the bishopric and saw the emperor no more [g101].

One day (when the other Gagik had become king), Gagik went off to hunt and became drunk. At a sultry hour, he dismounted to rest under the shade of the trees, having no one with him except one small lad, since all the others were scattered about, hunting. Greeks came upon them, recognized Gagik, seized him and took him to a fortress. When the king came to his senses from the wine, he opened his eyes and exclaimed: "Where am I?" And the Romans replied: "Where is our metropolitan Markos?" And they hurled him from the wall of the fortress with insults. He crashed to the ground and died. As for the lad who was with him, an Armenian merchant purchased him and made him his son-in-law.

Subsequently, when the lad became a man, he went hunting for partridge with another man, near the border of Cilicia. A fortress which they call Bardzrberd stood there. A Byzantine (Roman) bishop resided in this

fortress. An acquaintance was struck up between the man and the bishop, and they became dear to each other. They ate and drank together for many days. Yet the man had not put out of his mind what [94] the Byzantines had done to his relative, King Gagik [g102].

One day, when all the bishop's deacons had gone out of the fortress to see to some needed work, the bishop was left alone there with a youth. The hunter came close to the fortress to hunt partridge; seeing the bishop on the walls, he called to him to come out so that they might eat together. The bishop invited the man to come into the fortress, but he did not consent. So the bishop came down to him, without his deacon.

When the man saw that the bishop was coming alone, he realized that there was no one else in the fortress and he said to the man with him: "Today is a good opportunity to avenge with blood the murder of our king, which the Byzantines were responsible for. Take heed! Perhaps the bishop will send you into the fortress. If so, try to take it, and inform me by some hand signal that you have, and I will kill the bishop.

As soon as the bishop arrived, they began to eat. Once the wine gave out, the bishop said to the attendant: "Go to the fortress over there and bring us wine so we may rejoice together."

[95] The man went and gave the bishop's order to his servant. As soon as the servant kneeled over the barrel to fetch some wine, the man seized him by his feet, turned him upside down and drowned him in the wine. Going up to the walls, he notified his lord that he had taken the fortress [g103].

Down below the walls the hunter strangled the bishop. Then entering the fortress, he seized what was there and increased his own property both by force and deceit, until he, his sons, and grandsons ruled Cilicia, city and district. This man was the forbear of King Lewon, who enlarged the boundaries by his bravery, as we shall relate in its proper place.

After Emperor Basil, Constantine ruled, and after him Romanus the Old [III, Argyrus, 1028-34], followed by Michael, then Kiwrhzi, then Monomachus [1042-55]. They say that during his reign Gagik journeyed to Byzantium. After Monomachus, [the rulers were] Kyr T'odorh [Theodora, 1055-56], then Dukits [Constantine X, Ducas, 1059-67], then Diuzhen [Romanus IV, Diogenes, 1068-71]. In the first year of Diogenes' reign, Gagik Shahنشah, king of Vanand, died. In the eighth year of his reign, Diogenes arose with a great army and went to Iran to war. He came to Manazkert and took it. Once the tyrant [96] Alp-Arslan heard the news of the taking of Manazkert, he came forward and there was a fierce battle. Diogenes was defeated and captured by Alp-Arslan, a fine was levied on him, and then he was released. However, his people [g104] would not obey him. Instead they enthroned Michael [VII, 1071-78], Ducas' son. Again taking up arms, Michael struck against Diogenes. The troops put Diogenes into haircloth and sent him to Emperor Michael. On the way, they gouged his eyes out at the command of the emperor. He died in the year 521 A.E. [1072].

In the same year the judgements of the far-sighted, righteous God came down upon the arrogant and untameable beast Alp-Arslan. For while he ruled the world, growling with rage and ready to spill his bile on those not yet conquered, he was unexpectedly stabbed to death. Thus the impious one was removed from the world. And he did not witness the glory of God.

After Alp-Arslan, his fortunate son, called Malik-Shah, ruled. He did not imitate the wicked ways of his father, but rather, thinking about good things, he did good things for all his subjects, especially for the Armenians. Since he was intelligent, he denounced the conceptions of [97] his father as inimical to the peace of living people, [considering his father a man] crazed with blood and despoliation. But the son put everything into order with a wise and benign policy. He did such things and was more prudent than many kings, caring about everyone, [caring] that people deal with each other justly, that no one worry about being ravished, and that no one boast proudly. He was liberal and broad-minded, and physically he was worthy of the kingdom. In a short time he subdued the entire world not by war or tyranny, but by peace and love. Thus with a good reputation he ruled for twenty years, dying through his wife's poison [g105].

Then followed four years of unnarratable disturbances since [Malik-Shah's] brother Tutush (Dtush) and his son Bakiarukh (Bek'iaruk') tore the good land apart during these years with warfare. Since none of them ruled, soon afterwards streams of blood flowed in the land as if it were a torrent, not solely from the armed soldiers, but generally throughout the *awans* and districts. Thus the period following the death of the king [Malik-Shah] passed, one devoid of good things. Finally when Bakiarukh ruled, he murdered Tutush. Then Kizil (Xzl) ruled, his name meaning "Red." The latter took the city of Lorhe and its holy monasteries of Sanahin and Haghat.

[98] Following Emperor Michael, Alexius [I, Comnenus, 1081-1118] wore the crown. In his seventeenth regnal year, the Byzantines went through T'irak in the area of Asia, seeking revenge for the destruction of the Christians by the Scythians, Iranians and Tachiks. Many people experienced grief because of [g106] this son of Belial called Alexius, who was the emperor in Constantinople and worked treachery in open and in secret. For this lawless man ordered that fatal poison be mixed with food and drink, and those it had been given to died. On the seas he deceived those who trusted him as their coreligionist. He deceitfully aided the barbarians, for which may the Lord repay him. He was not even a Christian, nor was his mother; for many of the Franks died. The survivors returned empty-handed to Antioch and took the city and Jerusalem. Two kinglets ruled there, Raymond (Maymon) and Tancred (Tanghril) and seven counts. Godfrey (Kontop'ri) ruled in Jerusalem and then Baldwin (Paghtoy'n) for seventeen years and then Amari for nineteen years. This was in 546 of the Armenian Era [1097].

The Scythian tyrant Kizil died during the taking of the city of Dwin by the Iranian troops. Then their kingdom was fragmented into many pieces. One tyrannized in Khurasan, one in Syria, another one in the areas of Cappadocia and Armenia, one in Egypt, and others in other localities, although their names are unknown to us [g107].

[99] In 562 of the Armenian Era [1113] lord Barsegh died after having been patriarch for thirty-three years. He was succeeded on the throne with grand solemnity by lord Grigoris, brother of Nerses. They were of the family of Saint Gregory. Therefore, as soon as he sat on the throne of the holy Illuminator, this marvellous patriarch Grigoris made the blessed Church sparkle with various regulations and canonical laws, in everything trying to deport himself after the example of his ancestor Saint Gregory and his son. He moved the patriarchal throne to the fortress called Hrhomklay, since once the Byzantines took to themselves King Gagik and lord Petros, there no longer was a patriarchal throne in the east, but it was under the domination of the Byzantines, sometimes in Sebastia, sometimes in a place called Tsovk', then later transferred to Hrhomklay. The reason for these moves was the troubles occasioned by the Scythians and Tachiks, which tossed them hither and thither. [During this time the *kat'oghikos*], having taken the Church's sacred things and vessels, gave them for safe-keeping to a beneficent woman of Frank nationality, [who lived in] the [g108] secure fortress. During these days the prince who was lord of the fortress died, leaving his wife a widow. The blessed patriarch beseeched the pious woman to give the fortress to the patriarch, so that it become the seat of the Armenian *kat'oghikosate*; and the woman gave it gladly. The blessed [100] patriarch sent the woman to Cilicia, to the great prince of princes of Armenia, T'oros, and he gave her villages, fields, and other property. Making her very happy, he sent her to her own land.

This prince T'oros and his brother Step'ane were sons of prince Lewon, son of Kostand, son of Ruben; they were of the sons and descendants of Gagik Artsruni. They enlarged their boundaries bravely, ruling over many districts and cities of Cilicia and Syria and many other places. They captured the famous cities of the land: Tarsus, Sis, Adana, Seleucia, and the districts and cities surrounding them.

Now when the emperor of the Byzantines (who was called Alexius) [g109] heard about this matter, he sent Andronikos against the princes Step'ane and T'oros with many troops. Andronikos treacherously seized Step'ane and had him killed. Then T'oros took his brother's sons, Rhuben and Lewon, put them in a secure fortress, then worked out the blood feud against the Greeks who lived there, for what they had done to his brother. For he destroyed the people by force and made them refugees from the country; and he ruled all the

districts with great strength.

Now in the year 562 A.E. [1113], when *kat'oghikos* Barsegh died, the great and renowned *vardapet* Georg, who was called [101] Meghrik (Honey) for the sweetness of his ways, also passed to Christ. He put the famous convent called Drazark into order, being ceaseless in conducting services day and night, and perpetually keeping fasts. No one there possessed anything as private property, instead, all was held in common. In the same year the brave Roman, Tancred, the ruler of the city of Antioch, died poisoned by their patriarch. And after lord Barsegh, Grigoris occupied the Armenian *kat'oghikosate* for fifty-three years [g110].

The remarkable patriarch Grigoris [II, Vkasaser, 1065-1105] undertook to build a marvellous domed church in the same fortress. He also began making translations into Armenian of sacred writings and many other works; some he did himself, others, he asked other people to do.

In these days there lived the noted and learned *vardapets* Nerses the marvellous (the relative of the *kat'oghikos*) and the other Nerses, bishop of Lambron, brother of Het'um, who translated the *Interpretation of the Revelation of John*, the *History* of Pope Gregory of Rome and the *Orders* of the blessed Benedict. He also wrote his own interpretations of the Psalms of David and the Proverbs of Solomon, as well as the holy missal and the prayers of [102] of the Evangelist John which begin "He was with his brothers." He built a wondrous church in the monastery called Skewrha, close to the impregnable fortress of Lambron; and he arranged the services of the monastery according to the example of other peoples, with deacons and scribes and uncovered heads, for which he was greatly criticized by the Armenians.

There was another bishop, named Ignatios, whom the *kat'oghikos* ordered to make an interpretation of the Gospel of Luke [g111]. But he did not consent until he had a dream in which all the *vardapets* of the Church were seen rejoicing in a luminous house decorated with every charm. He too wanted to enter, but they prevented him, saying: "Since you did not labor to interpret the Gospel, you shall not set foot in here." And when he awoke he began to interpret the Gospel of Luke with sagacious words.

Another marvellous *vardapet* named Sargis in the monastery called K'arashit'aw in Syrian, made an interpretation of the seven catholic letters, a large work with prefaces and full of homilies. There was yet another bishop active in the Antioch area, the venerable bishop Yovsep'.

Now in the East, there were noted men and scholars, illuminators of the Church. One such was Anania the *vardapet* at Sanahin [who lived] in the days of Deoskoros [103] [abbot of Sanahin, 1037], an intellectual, brilliant man, knowledgeable in the science of constructing calendrical systems, and an interpreter of Scripture. They say that he assembled in one volume for interpretation the words of Ep'rem, of the Apostles, of John Chrysostom, Cyril, and other saints in summary form for the reader's convenience [g112]. He also made a serious, intelligent survey and comparison of the Gospels with examples. In addition he wrote a clear commentary on the Trisageion which is recited in the churches of the Orthodox with [the expression] "Who Was Crucified"; and he wrote the eulogy *Shoghakat'*.

Like Anania, in Haghbat the brilliant Yovhannes called Sargawag [was active], a man more learned than many, a genius. Yovhannes studied many writings and left behind a fine memorial to himself. He achieved what many desired but were not competent to do: he established a fixed rather than a movable calendar and made correspondence between the calendars of all peoples and the Armenians. For he was extremely wise and a man adorned with divine graces, his words [written] in the most learned style rather than colloquial, just as those of Gregory the Theologian. He wrote homilies in praise of the mighty Armenian king, Trdat, the blessed patriarch Nerses, and the marvellous Sahak and Mesrop. He [104] also composed a *sharakan* on the Ghewondians with a sweet melody and appropriate words, which begins "The holy churches are gleaming today." In addition he wrote elegiac homilies for them and accurate paradigms of prayerbooks and other books [g113].

King David of Georgia (father of Demetre, grandfather of David and Giorg) liked Yovhannes Sargawag so much that on hearing of his arrival, he took himself before him to request his blessings. Placing his hand upon King David's head, Yovhannes recited this psalm: "I have found my servant David and with my holy oil I anoint him. Let my hand surround him and my arm strengthen him, Let him not be harmed by enemies and let the son of iniquity not torment him [Psalms 88, 21-23]." And because of Yovhannes, King David loved the Armenian people.

An event occurred one day because of the decision to remove from the solemn mass for debauched behavior a certain individual named Zomzoma. This Zomzoma, instead of feeling remorse and repenting, planned to slay the wonderful Yovhannes. One day he encountered him as he was emerging from a cave under the monastery. As [Yovhannes] stood looking at the river, the shameful one seized him, threw him to the [105] ground and pounced on him. Now since the blessed Yovhannes was a wise man, he said to Zomzoma: "Step'anos my son, do not kill me." And the bold one replied: "Until today I was Zomzoma, but now instead of one 'n' there are many 'n's, Step'annos." For his last name was Zomzoma. [Yovhannes] said: "Why do you want to kill me because you were removed [g114] from the Church? I will reinstate you in the Church." And [Zomzoma] let Yovhannes go. Going to the monastery [Yovhannes] said to the brothers: "What the brother said about this matter I think is false. Lo, I enter Zomzoma in the Church." He ordered the sacrist to accept Zomzoma as senior priest. This caused much grumbling, and people said that it was cheap and that [Yovhannes] had taken bribes and so reinstated him in the Church.

As soon as the hour for the solemn mass arrived, the wretched [Zomzoma] walked onto the bema to perform the service. The *vardapet* came amidst the assembly into the portico across from the holy table; he uncovered his head and began to pray. Instantly some evil spirit came and entered the impious [Zomzoma], threw him from the bema to the floor of the church and began to torment him greatly. They took him out of the church, like Ozia, and great trepidation came over the viewers.

[106] Living with such fine behavior in this world, the scholar [Yovhannes] passed to Christ in Haghat. They buried him on the east side of the great church by the door of the smaller church. This [smaller church] was later torn down by bishop Hamazasp. In its place a marvellous structure was built adapted in style to the church, where the bell was hung. The blessed [Yovhannes] died in 578 A.E.[1129] [g115].

After one year the holy illuminating *vardapet* Dawit', son of Alawik, died. He wrote the *Penetential*, a beautiful and useful work, at the request of a priest named Ark'ayut'iwn from the city of Gandzak [For an English translation see C. J. F. Dowsett, trans. and ed., *The Penitential of Dawit' of Ganjak* (Louvain, 1961).] There was yet another marvellous *vardapet* called T'ok'aker's son, Grigor by name. Both of these men were from Gandzak, where I too am from.

It happened one day that the three marvellous men were seated together. A peasant (*shinakan*) came up and said to them: "If only I knew which of you is more learned." He said this in ridicule. T'ok'aker's son answered, saying: "While we were in our land, I was a chopper and tailor, and Sargawag only knew how to sew. But now he chops and sews and does many drawings besides." In his wisdom, he had spoken allegorically. This man was so interested in learning [107] that one day he went to a cave where books were housed. There were other people with him. He concealed himself inside, first leading the others to think that he had departed. When the others left, they shut the doors. After some days, they returned to the cave for something. They saw him inside and were astonished, asking: "However did you live without food and drink?" And he showed them the books he had been reading and said: "This has been my food and drink during these days " [g116].

In 588 A.E. [1139], there was a severe earthquake which destroyed the city of Gandzak. The city's buildings collapsed upon their inhabitants. King Demetre of Georgia, father of David and Giorgi came and took the city's doors to his land. Because of this earthquake, the Mt. Alharak crumbled and blocked the valley which led through to it. And thus a small lake was created there which exists to this day. It has excellent fish.

The marvellous patriarch Grigoris daily increased his good works for the glorification of the Church. He was loved by all people. It happened that he went to the holy city of Jerusalem to revere the sites of the Incarnation of [108] the Lord. As soon as he reached the city of Antioch, the entire population came out before him bearing torches and lamps. With great honor they took him and seated him on the throne of the Apostle Peter. As soon as he reached Jerusalem, the Frank people (who were ruling the city) and their patriarch more deeply established love between our peoples [g117], on account of Grigoris. For he was pleasing in appearance and adorned with knowledge of the holy Scriptures. According to tradition, the old agreement of Trdat and Saint Gregory, of Emperor Constantine and the patriarch Sylvester, was restored. Having lived with such decorum, he passed to Christ with perfect virtue, in ripe old age. His brother Nerses replaced him on the [*kat'oghikosal*] throne for seven years.

Nerses was more learned than many of his day; not only more than the Armenian *vardapets*, but more than the Greek and Syrian [clerics], so much so that his reputation spread throughout all the lands; to the point that when a certain Constantinopolitan scholar named Teora heard of his reputation he packed his belongings on donkeys and came to evaluate Nerses and to listen to his wisdom. He came and spoke with Nerses for many days, finding him knowledgeable about everything and also filled with the Holy Spirit. When [Teora] returned [109] to the city of Constantinople, people questioned him, asking: "What is he like? Is his reputation as they say, or not?" [Teora] replied: "What we heard was what we saw, for he is a new Gregory the Theologian." Everyone marvelled at him.

Since he was a brilliant man, he introduced many *sharakans* into the churches, [hymns] in a *xosrovean* style, melodies, canticles, and verses. He was responsible for [the hymns] the blessing of Resurrection, the Third *koghm*, on the two days of the Assumption of the Mother of God, the blessing of Peter and Paul, *Mankunk'*, *Hambardzin* which begins: "Rejoice today, Church of God, with the memory of the blessed Apostles." [He also wrote] the blessing of the Sons of Thunder [which begins]: "He who exists always is the son of God." [He also wrote] one *sharakan* for [the feast of] Anton, two for Teodos, one on the forty martyrs of Sebastia, one on the Apostles, the blessing of three days of Easter week (Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday), two *sharakans* on the feast of the Resurrection, on the Ninevites, the Archangels, about the holy Vardanants', as well as many other *sharakans*.

With the same sublimity as the *sharakans*, he also wrote [110] sermons on the holy mass, as well as two *gandz* which bear his name, *Vardavarh* and the *Translation of the Mother of God*, as Grigor Narekats'i wrote the *Coming of the Spirit*, the *Church* [g119], and the *Holy Cross* with profound and deep words, and the *Prayerbook*, the *Eulogy on Jacob of Nisibis* and the *Apostles*. [Nerses Shnorhali] similarly compiled an abbreviated version of the *Gospel of Matthew* full of radiant and rich ideas, which reached as far as the passage where the Lord said: "Do not believe that I came to overturn the laws and the prophets [Matthew 5.17]." At that point, I do not know why, the work halts. He wrote homilies on the archangels according to the style of Dionysius the Areopagate. He also translated many homilies about the martyrs of God. Having accomplished such fine deeds, he passed to Christ—the hope of all—with a desirable, venerable death. The wish of this blessed man was that if possible people should abstain from speaking crassly, and instead occupy themselves with learning, not in wine bibbing or any other pleasure. Therefore he created songs and instructed the men who held the fortresses that instead of their vain noises they should utter the beginning lines of the psalm of David: "In the night I recalled Your Name, Lord," and solemnly in order "Arise my Glory" which is now recited at evening worship in church [g120].

[111] Occasionally [Nerses] was summoned by the great Alexius, who was the son-in-law of the king of the Byzantines, Emperor Manuel. [Nerses] went to the city of Mamestia in Cilicia and [Alexius] asked him deep and difficult questions from books. He found him perfected in everything and greatly exalted him. Once he wrote to [Nerses] requesting that he be given in writing a description of the confession of faith of the Armenians, the solemn festivals, primary fasts, and the mystery of One Nature (we say that there is unity in [the natures of] Jesus Christ), and about other laws of [our] Church which are not the same as other peoples'. Nerses wrote what had been requested, concisely and clearly, and gave it to him. In the orthodox Church of

Armenia this confession is repeated as follows: [We omit the translation of pp. 120-46 (much of section 2.) which deals with doctrinal matters.]

2.

When all the Byzantine wise men had read this, they praised the faith of the Armenians. Since [Nerses] was such a brilliant man, he also created allegorical proverbs based on the themes of Scripture as well as riddles, so that [112] people would repeat them in place of the pagan legends when drinking and at weddings. Nerses himself was a worthy man of God, mild and modest in everything.

After him, Grigor succeeded as patriarch and ruled for twenty years. He built the embellished church at Klayn [Hrhomkla] and lavishly adorned it. Then Grigoris, called Tgha (the sister's son of them [i.e., of Grigor and Grigoris]) ruled, for one year [The text is corrupted here, or Kirakos was confused. The correct order of *kat'oghikoi* is Gregory IV Tgha (1173-93), Gregory V (whom Kirakos calls Tgha, 1193-94), followed by Gregory VI Apirat (1194-1203).]. He was a man of fine stature and handsome appearance, but because there were many bishops jealous of [g147] him, people who spread slanders about him and deceitfully betrayed him to King Lewon, Lewon ordered that [the *kat'oghikos*] be held in a fortress until an examination take place on the accuracy [of the charges], and he himself wrote a letter to the East [i.e., to Greater Armenia], to the *vardapets* and bishops of Armenia inquiring what their will was regarding the man. But before their reply arrived, the *kat'oghikos* died in the following manner. One day his body was discovered with linen wrapped around the waist, fallen at the walls of the fortress. Some say that it was because of their rancor that certain bishops threw him over the wall, bishops who [113] had their eyes on inheriting the [*kat'oghikosal*] throne. One of these, they say, was Yovhannes, who occupied the throne after him. [Another suspect] was also Anania who was a counter-patriarch in Sewast/Sebastia, under the domination of the Sultan of Rum, as well as six other bishops from there. Others claim that [Gregory] wanted to flee the fortress at night, and was able to lower himself from the wall with linen, but the cloth tore and he fell to his death. We do not know what the truth in this matter is. It is known only by righteous God, to whom all the secrets of mankind are revealed.

Then lord Grigor Apirat ruled for seven years. Thereafter bickering arose among those jealous of Grigoris, as [g148] to who should sit on the patriarchal throne. Yovhannes, since he was an intimate of King Lewon, forced his way and occupied the throne. As soon as the other bishop, Anania, saw this, he went to the Sultan of Rum, bribed him, and sat as *kat'oghikos* in Sewast/Sebastia, for he claimed that he was of the line of the *kat'oghikos* Petros who was buried there. And so the throne of Saint Gregory was divided into three parts: one (the real one) which Yovhannes occupied in Hrhomkla; one occupied by Anania (who had rebelled), in Sewast/Sebastia; and yet one more on the island of Aght'amar [114] [occupied] by Dawit'.

After Emperor Alexius, Kalozhan ruled, followed by Manuel. Now in 598 A.E. [1149], the Byzantines held a military review with their myriad upon myriad of troops, and turned to this side of the Ocean first passing through Thrace, as we noted under the year 546 A.E. [1097]. They had forgotten the impossible difficulties caused by that son of Belial, Alexius. Those who did not know the false treachery of this man, viewed him as a co-religionist and a servant of Christ. Those people here, who did not remember those disastrous events, were even more tricked and cheated by [Alexius'] grandson, whose name (like that of the Antichrist) was pseudo-Christos). He was a man named Manuel who like Emmanuel was rancorous and contrary in everything—actions and religion—and who betrayed the Byzantines with fatal food and drink [g149].

In the days of his grandfather Alexius, a certain count came to Antioch from Jerusalem. As soon as he entered the temple of Saint Peter the Apostle, and participated in the service, the blessed Saint Peter appeared to him and said: "The lance with which they pierced our Savior is buried in the window of this church. Take it to

your country." Thus [115] the man took it with joy and went to Constantinople. When Emperor Alexius heard about this matter, he greatly honored the count and gave him many treasures, requesting the lance from him. The count left the lance with him and went on his way.

Now in 636 A.E. [1187] a certain tyrant of Kurdish nationality whose name was Saladin [Salahadin, Salah al-Din] and who came from [the area of] Maseats'otn arose. He was the vassal of the sultan of Merv and Aleppo. Gathering together an enormous army he went against the city of Jerusalem. The king of Jerusalem, a Frank, went against him with numerous troops. But his sailors betrayed him; for the lord of Tripoli was a friend of the enemy of the Frank king, and betrayed the king to his enemies in the following manner.

The season was very hot, and the place was waterless. The count, being an advisor to the king, urged him [g150] to take a waterless area for their base, while the enemy held the shores of the Jordan River. At noon they were in battle formation. Since the horses of the Christian soldiers were parched with thirst, as soon as they spotted the water, they raced for it, dragging their riders along and plunging them into the midst of the enemy, who put their swords to work [116] and mercilessly cut them down. Now since the king of Jerusalem was a brave man, he slew many of the enemy with his own hands. But when he realized that it would be impossible for him to get free (since they had killed his horse), he wanted to surrender to the enemy. They made him swear that he would never again unsheath his sword against them, and let him go free. He went to Byzantium. Saladin's forces went against Jerusalem, took it and the surrounding cities, killing everyone. Then the sun dimmed for many hours. The Saladinites ruled Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia and a large part of Armenia, they and their grandsons who are called 'Ayyubids (Edleank'); among them were Melik' K'eml, Melik' Ashrap' and other sultans who ruled many lands.

Kiwrike Bagratuni, who was in the city of Lorhe spent his entire life fighting against the Georgians to preserve the stability of his patrimony. After his death, his sons Dawit' and Abas, deceived by the Georgians, left the home [g151] of their ancestors and went over to the Iranians. They received from the Iranians as hereditary property [the cities of] Tawush, Matsnaberd and other places. Subsequently the Iranians took Tawush from them and they resided in Matsnaberd. Then Dawit' and Abas passed away. Kiwrike succeeded his father Dawit'. He was a mild man, accomplished in virtuous deeds; more so than his father. Passing from this world [117] in goodness, he left as heir his small son Abas, who was twelve years old. He took as a wife Nana, the daughter of the pious prince Sargis son of Zak'aria, son of Vahram, sister of the great princes Zak'are and Iwane. Their deeds were many, as we shall note in the proper places. After living with his wife for two years, Abas died at the age of nineteen. He had no son from this wife.

As soon as his sister Balrina saw that their line was extinct she fell into inconsolable mourning. They told her: "There is one woman who has a suckling baby from your brother." Balrina was delighted. She took the lad, nourished him, and named him [g152] Aghsart'an. He became the heir of Matsnaberd, and was a pious man who loved the priests. Aghsart'an was living in our time, though in old age his feet pained him. Dawit', the prince of Norberd, dealt with him deceitfully, for he too was of the Bagratid family, father of prince Vasak who built the marvellous church in the monastery called Anapat, close to Norberd with the direction and cooperation of Yovhannes Tuets'i. He was the archbishop of the areas of Shamk'or, Gardman, Ergevank', Terunakan, Tawush and other regions under the sway of prince Vahram. The church was completed, anointed and consecrated in the name of the holy Mother of God in 689 A.E. [1240]. Bishop Yovhannes [118] was a blessed, virtuous, benevolent man who often fasted for forty days at a time.

However the prince of Norberd, Dawit', deceived the lad Aghsart'an; he married his daughter to him and ruled Matsnaberd himself. Then he retrieved his daughter from Aghsart'an. But Aghsart'an won over the inhabitants of the fortress. Suddenly and unexpectedly they seized Dawit' [g153] with his entire family and expelled them from the fortress which they gave to Aghsart'an. The latter, toward the end of his life, gave authority to his son Kiwrike, and became a cleric in the monastery of Getakits'k'.

Kiwrike had [several] sons: one was named P'ahlawan, the second, T'aghiadin, and the third Aghsart'an.

3. Regarding the Kingship of Lewon in the West

Whatever was narrated up to this point was culled from works that were written previously. But the history before us now concerns matters about which I heard with my own ears and to which I was an eyewitness.

[119] When the great prince T'oros, son of Lewon, son of Constantine, son of King Rhuben of Cilicia died, his brother's son named Rhuben took authority. Rhuben was the son of Step'ane who was treacherously killed by the Greek general Andronikos. After a short while, he too died and Lewon, a brave and warlike [g154] man, took authority. As soon as Lewon took power, he enlarged the borders of his lordship. For he made war against the surrounding peoples and conquered them, in accordance with the bravery of his name, like a lion; for Lewon [Leo] means lion.

When the tyrants among the Turks and Tachiks (who were called sultans) observed Lewon's successes, the sultan who ruled Aleppo and Damascus mustered his men and came against him, with countless troops and weapons. When Lewon, the prince of princes, heard that the foreigners were coming against him, he hurried and gathered his troops and quickly came against them, like an eagle swooping down on a flock of hens, and he struck them many great blows. The sultan fled, escaping by a hairbreadth, this sultan who had come against Lewon boasting. Lewon levied a tax on him and made him his vassal. When the surrounding Tachiks saw this feat of bravery, they feared him and paid him taxes. And this is the way that Lewon ruled over all, with force.

[120] When Lewon saw that he had succeeded in forming a lordship greater in size than his forbears', he consulted among [g155] his princes and grandees to become king. He sent [a messenger] to the world-renowned city of the Romans, to the autocrat emperor and the Pope [requesting] that they give him the order and a royal crown; for he did not want to be vassal to any but to the Frank people. At the same time, his pride was excited by the [tombs of the] holy Apostles Peter and Paul which were in the city, as though he were receiving the crown of blessing from them.

The emperor and Pope of Rome sent him a worthy crown of earlier kings and a dignitary, that is, an archbishop to place the crown on his head and to demand three things from him: to celebrate the feasts of the Lord and of all the saints on whatever days they occurred; to utter prayers in the church during the day and evening, something the Armenians had not done for some time because of Ishmaelite attacks, instead [reciting prayers] only at the time of the administration of the sacrament during the holy mass; and not to break the fasts on the eves of Christmas and Easter, except with [g156] fish and olives.

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

[The archbishop said]: "When you have done these [121] things, you need not concern yourself with taxes and presents for the Emperor and the Pope for the crown they gave you. But if you do not accept these changes, I have an order to take from you countless treasures of gold, silver, and precious stones."

Lewon called the *kat'oghikos* and bishops and asked what reply he should give to the messenger of the Romans. They did not approve of accepting [the terms]. Then Lewon said to them: "Do not worry about it. I will mollify them this time by deception."

And Lewon replied to the bishop of Rome, saying: "We shall promptly do all that the autocrat Emperor and the great Pope have ordered." [Lewon] required an oath of those twelve bishops, and convinced them to swear to it. Among the bishops who swore the oath were the bishop of Tarsus, Nerses Lambronets'i, whom we mentioned above, Yovsep' from the area around Antioch, the head of the monks called Jesuits (Yesuits), Yovhannes, who became *kat'oghikos*, and Anania who was [g157] anti-*kat'oghikos* in Sewast/Sebastia, and others with them.

A great multitude of people assembled then: commanders and troops of all peoples, the patriarch of the Greeks who sat in Tarsus, and the Syrian *kat'oghikos* who sat in the monastery [122] of the blessed Barsuma by the borders of Melitene, as well as the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians with all the bishops. They enthroned Lewon as king, and the surrounding peoples brought gifts to the restored king.

When the emperor of the Greeks heard that the Franks had given Lewon a crown, he too sent gifts and a beautiful crown adorned with gold and precious stones, and [a message] saying: "Don't put the crown of the Romans on your head, instead put on our crown because you are closer to us than to Rome." But King Lewon was a wise man and he did not decline either of the two kings' offers, either, Roman or Constantinopolitan. Instead, he replied as he pleased and gladly accepted both, giving great tribute to the bearers of the crowns. Thus Lewon was crowned by both kings [g158].

[Lewon] had a good nature, merciful to the poor and needy, a lover of the churches and the servants of God. He established monasteries in all parts of his lordship and increased their provisions so that [the clerics] lack for nothing bodily, and occupy themselves only with worship and prayers. One of the monasteries he established is the famous monastery called Akner, which to the present conducts [123] itself according to the provisions he established. Every day of the week [the brothers at Akner] keep fasts, breaking them only on Saturday and Sunday, with fish or milk products.

Thus did the pious Lewon strengthen his kingdom with improvements. In all matters he was most excellent except in one—he was a gallant. He left his first wife (to whom he had been married as prince), and took in marriage the daughter of the king of the island of Cyprus, a woman of Frankish nationality, so that this king be his support and aid.

It happened that Lewon sailed to Cyprus to see his [g159] father-in-law. When his enemies heard about this, they (who had been unable to do anything to him while he was on dry land) prepared many ships to destroy him on the seas.

When King Lewon heard about this, he turned back to Cyprus, since it was enroute. He took his warships and

came to the ambushade which many ships had readied for him. Since he was a wise man, he recognized which of the ships was the principal one, and rammed it with a fast-moving vessel, so that all aboard drowned. The remaining ships fled. Dread of Lewon came upon everyone both near and far.

[124] Once, during Eastertime, the sultan who ruled the area around Aleppo assembled troops against Lewon, and sent this message to King Lewon: "If you do not submit and become tributary to me in service, then with the multitude of my troops I will put to the sword all the inhabitants of your land, both mother and child. And I will turn the holiday which you Christians are celebrating, revering the fact that it is the resurrection of your Christ, into a day of mourning. I will see to it that the food you prepared for your holidays you will eat on horseback" [g160].

Having sent this, the sultan, taking along the multitude of his soldiers went and pitched camp on his borders, awaiting the return of the messenger. As soon as the wise King Lewon heard the message and found out about the massing of foreign troops, he ordered the envoy to be led to another area, as though the king were there. Meanwhile Lewon hastened to muster his forces and come upon them from another direction. At an unexpected moment he fell upon them and dealt them many a hard blow and the sultan fled, escaping by a hairbreadth. King Lewon then took the booty from the camp of the foreigners, their tents and [125] all the captives. He came and pitched camp in his own country by the shore of a river, ordering his men to set up the altars of the foreigners and each to erect his banners by the door of his altar; and then he ordered [the sultan's] envoys summoned.

As soon as they came and saw the tents and altars of their own troops and the banners of each division, they wondered greatly, for they did not know what had happened. When they learned what had happened, they threw themselves at the king's feet, imploring him for their lives [g161]. The king was compassionate toward them, granted them their lives and sent them to their lord. As for the tax which the sultan had demanded of King Lewon, Lewon levied on him that same tax and more, and made the foreigners serve him. His accession was in 646 of the Armenian Era [1197].

4. Concerning the princes in eastern Armenia, Zak'are and his brother Iwane.

During the reign of Lewon, king of the Armenians, in the East there were two brothers, sons of the pious prince Sargis, son of Vahram, son of Zak'aria, who had separated from the Kurds of the Babirakan *xel*. The name of the first [126] son was Zak'are and the second was Iwane—brave men, rich in authority, honored by the queen of Georgia named Tamar who was the daughter of Georg the brave, son of Demetre. Zak'are was general of the Georgian and Armenian forces that were under the [g162] Georgian king. Iwane held the *at'abekut'iwn*. They displayed bravery in many battles, since they took for themselves from the Iranians and Tachiks much of Armenia which they had held, namely, the districts around the Sea of Geghark'unik', Tashir, Ayrarat, the city of Bjni, and Dwin, Anberd, the city of Ani, Kars, Vayots' Dzor, the land of Siwnik' and the fortresses, cities and districts surrounding it. They also made tributary the sultan of the city of Karin. They looted many districts of Iran and Atrpatakan, and extended their borders in every direction. The other prince named Zak'are did likewise, as did his brother Sargis and the other Sargis, father of Shalue and Iwane, relatives of the great princes; and with their aid they too took from the Iranians many districts and secure fortresses: Gardman, K'arherdz, Ergevank', Tawush, Katsaret', Terunakan and Gag and they placed in difficult straits the city of Shamk'or, which his son later took. This son was named Vahram, father of Aghbugha, grandfather of Vahram, Zak'are and Iwane.

[127] Thus they were aided in their conquests from On High [g163], so much so that their reputation for bravery spread throughout many districts and many peoples were tributary to them, both by reason of

friendship and out of fear. They restored many monasteries which for a long time—since the invasions of the Ishmaelites—had been in ruins. They restored the churches once again and the clerical orders shone forth. They also built new churches and monasteries, which from antiquity had not been monasteries, among which the famous monastery called Getik in the district of Kayean, which was constructed by the blessed *vardapet* Mxit'ar called Gosh. They built a wondrous church with a heavenly dome; and they consecrated the church and anointed it in the name of the blessed Mother of God, a temple of the Lord's glory, and an abode of the rational flock of Christ.

As soon as their authority was so furthered, they attacked the sultan called Shahi Armen.

They wanted to take the charming city of Bznunik', Xlat', [from the Shah Armen]. Assembling their soldiers, they besieged it and were close to taking it. Prince Iwane, brother of the general, rode to examine the city's wall, to divert himself. Wandering aimlessly, his horse's leg [128] stumbled into a hidden pit and threw him to the ground [g164]. Seeing this the men of the city pounced upon him and, binding him, took him inside. And there was great merriment in the city. They immediately informed the sultan about his capture, at which the sultan rejoiced exceedingly, and ordered Iwane brought before him.

When general Zak'aria heard about this he sent threatening words to the citizens, saying: "Release my brother from your city, or I shall destroy it, I will take your soil to Georgia, and destroy your population." Frightened by him, they did not have Iwane sent to the sultans in Damascus and Egypt, named Kuz and Melik' K'eml and Ashrap' (from the line of Saladin, who took Jerusalem).

Making peace among themselves, [the residents of Xlat'] requested the daughter of Iwane in marriage. And it came to pass as they requested. They took hostages and released Iwane. When he went to his home, he sent his daughter to them. She became the wife of Kuz and after him, of Ashrap'.

The coming of this woman into the house of the sultans brought about much good, for the lot of the Christians under their domination improved, especially in Taron since the monasteries which were there and had been under taxation, had [129] the rate of their taxes lowered, and half of them had [g165] the whole tax discontinued. [The Muslims] ordered those under their domination not to despoil or trouble travellers going to Jerusalem for pilgrimage. The Georgians especially expanded [their influence], for Iwane was misled to the doctrine of Chalcedon (through which the Georgians were lost); for he loved the glory of man more than the glory of God. He became charmed by the queen named T'amar, daughter of Georg, while Zak'are remained true to the orthodox confession of the Armenians. Therefore they honored the Georgians even more, for they were not taxed in all their cities, and in Jerusalem as well. [Iwane's daughter] was named T'amt'a.

Thus was friendship and unity achieved between the Georgian kingdom and the sultans' lordship.

5. The meeting which Zak'aria called to discuss certain matters.

After these events, once [the Zak'arids] had secured the land under their sway from any invasion, after the monasteries had multiplied and the worship of the Church shone forth brightly, Zak'are thought to do something else. For he saw [130] that among the Georgian soldiers under his king, each [general] had priests with him, and they performed mass everywhere, while he had no portable church (for such was not the custom of the Armenians for a long time, from after the removal of the grandee princes of Armenia [g166], because of the tyranny of the Iranians and Ishmaelites). The Georgians censured the Armenians for not having a portable church for not taking communion [on the march], and for not celebrating each of the feasts of the martyrs of God on the day of its occurrence. Therefore, Zak'are was deeply unhappy.

Zak'are asked the great *vardapet* Mxit'ar called Gosh (builder of the monastery of Getik, who was his father-confessor): "Was there ever among any of our kings or princes, a church suitable for the road—a place for worship and the mass?" He also asked other *vardapets*, and they told him that there had been a tent and table which circulated in the royal army of the mighty King Trdat, and that the blessed Vardaneans had received baptism and communion in the army. [They cited] the information which the blessed martyrs Hiperik'os and P'ilot'eos wrote to Yakobos the priest: "Take with you the chalice of the mass, and the horn of anointment, and come to us." And they informed him of other similar instances [g167]. Then the great general said to them: "Give me the command [131] to take along priests and a tent for mass in my travels." The great *vardapet* said to him: "We cannot do that without an order from the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, and from King Lewon."

So he wrote a letter and sent ambassadors to the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, Yovhannes, who during that time was in rebellion against King Lewon in Hrhomkla for various reasons. He also wrote to King Lewon and acquainted him with his request. Lewon had seated lord Dawit' as *kat'oghikos* in place of Yovhannes who was in rebellion against Cilicia in the monastery called Ark'akaghin.

Then Lewon assembled the *vardapets* and bishops under his sway and inquired about Zak'are's request. They agreed with it, so that [Zak'are] would not pass from orthodox faith as had his brother, and they wrote the following letter to the East:

"The *sparapet* and *shahnshah* of the eastern regions, Zak'aria, has inquired about the question of the deformation and corruption of the laws of the Christians which occurred because of slavery to foreigners. *Vardapets*, bishops, [132] fathers and elders [of the Church] held a meeting, examined [g168] his request and found it in accord with Scripture. [Zak'are] then sent to the Christ-crowned king of the Armenians, Lewon, in Cilicia in the west. And he, convening a meeting in the capital of Sis, with *kat'oghikos* Dawit' and the *vardapets*, bishops and monks, found [Zak'are's] request in accord with the apostolic conventions, not contrary to them.

Therefore they sealed and sent [to eastern Armenia] the following eight canons:

First: the mass should be performed with blessed clerks and deacons, as the law is.

Second: the feast of the Annunciation to the Mother of God should be celebrated on April sixth, on whatever day it falls. The feast of the Assumption should be held on the fifteenth of August, on whatever day it occurs, and the feast of the Holy Cross on the fourteenth of September, on whatever day it occurs. Similarly, other feasts of the martyrs should be celebrated on the actual days they occurred on according to the traditional commentary [g169].

Third: the fasts of the blessed Revelation of Christ and of Easter should be kept until evening, and not broken with anything except fish and olives.

[133] Fourth: the icons of the Savior and all the saints should be accepted, and not despised as though they were pagan images.

Fifth: mass should also be performed for the living.

Sixth: Clerics must not eat meat.

Seventh: One should be ordained as a clerk and, only after many days [i.e., after the passage of some time] as a deacon, and as a priest, in full maturity.

Eighth: Cenobites should reside in the monasteries. No one [in the monasteries] should receive things separately [i.e., as private property].

These and similar canons they wrote during the meeting in the West, and sent them to Zak'aria in the East.

Now *kat'oghikos* Yovhannes, who was in Hromkla, in order to gain the favor of the princes of the East sent a domed tent in the shape of a church, as well as people to set it up and decorate it, a marble altar and other vessels of the service, and a bishop named Minas, and deacons and clerks and priest with beautiful voices to say mass. Those who [g170] arrived visited the *amir spasalar* in the city of Lorhe and [134] presented him with the commands of the *kat'oghikos* and his letters and presents. Similarly, ambassadors and envoys from King Lewon and *kat'oghikos* Dawit' came.

Zak'aria, rejoicing at all this, ordered a meeting to be convened in the city of Lorhe. Included were their relative Grigores, the bishop of Haghbat and the bishop of Ani, the bishop of Bjni, Dwin, Kars and others who happened to be there. Also included were the *vardapets* and directors of the monasteries, with priests and the lay multitude. [Zak'are] wanted to raise the tent and have mass said.

In that period there flourished [among the Armenians] venerable *vardapets* such as Mxit'ar, called Gosh, the builder of the monastery of Getik, a learned, modest man, renowned for his doctrinal knowledge; Ignatios, Vardan, Dawit' K'obayrets'i of Haghbat, Hovhannes, prior of Sanahin (who was prior) following the death of *vardapet* Grigor, who was called Tuteordi. He was the tutor (*dastiarak*) of those [Zak'arid] princes. [Other prominent *vardapets* were] Grigor called Mononik, in Kech'arhuk'; Turk'ik in T'eghenik', who organized the monastery [with the rule] that all things be held in common and that [g171] no one receive anything separately; Eghia of Hawuts' T'arh, the one who finely arranged the service of his monastery [135] so that everyone sang in unison, whether high or low notes, and so that one did not drown out the other when singing. There were Grigor Dunats'i and Sargis the ascetic from Sewan. These were venerable men, but there were also many others, such as Grigores, bishop of Haghbat, Vert'anes of Bjni and Dwin, Sargis the occupant of the [episcopal] throne of Ani, Hovhannes of Kars and many others from this area and that, with venerable priests of the monasteries, cities and villages.

Now when the people heard and learned about the orders of the *kat'oghikos* and King Lewon, some accepted them, but others did not. Being thus disunited, they separated from each other. One group secretly departed at night and forcibly prevented the others from entering until mass had been said. Being disunited, they continued blaming each other.

Prince Zak'are sent to the monasteries under his domination, and had them forcibly celebrate the feats of the Assumption of the Mother of God and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, not on Sunday as the monks were accustomed to do [g172], but on whichever days they actually fell on. There was much disunity and fighting in the Church; instead of joy there was sorrow; instead of love for one another, hatred to the point [136] that they even dared to brandish swords against each other.

Zak'are then sent bishop Minas (who had come from the *kat'oghikos*) to Haghbat with his deacons, so that they [effect] the same [changes] there. When Minas came close to the monastery, bishop Grigores of Haghbat sent men who came and harshly beat him and his deacons with bastinados. Inflicting severe wounds on the clerics, the men left them there, half-dead. The mules which had borne his bundles were driven over a cliff and killed. The [injured] bishop was taken to Zak'are in a litter. Seeing Minas, Zak'are became furious at Grigores and ordered that he be seized, and even threatening him with death. [Grigores] fled to the land of Kayean, to Getik monastery and to the great *vardapet* Mxit'ar to seek protection, for he knew that [Mxit'ar] had great influence with Zak'are. Although [Grigores] had slipped out of his hands that time, he subsequently was seized at Kech'arhuk' and put [g173] in prison; and Yovhannes was made bishop of Haghbat in his stead. This is the man who previously had left his throne and had gone to Xach'en. Yovhannes was a virtuous man who did many memorable deeds at Haghbat, among which was the building of a renowned vestibule there, a structure which inspires the viewer with awe.

Thus there was confusion in the churches of the East, since [137] for a long time they did not have the custom

of doing as he requested: not holding the feasts on the day each one occurred, so that they would not break fasts. Nor did they conduct mass with deacons and clerks; rather, the priests attended each other. I think that they had adopted this custom because of the tyranny of the Tachiks [Arabs] who did not allow the Christians to practise their religion freely. Therefore the priests did not dare to open the doors of the church at the hour of the supreme mystery, so that none of the foreigners would commit any crime or do anything else they desired .

Again Zak'are ordered an assembly convened in the district of Shirak, in the capital city of Ani. The above-mentioned bishops and *vardapets* and many others gathered. Zak'are wrote to *vardapet* Mxit'ar so that he come to the meeting. But Mxit'ar excused himself because of illness and inability and wrote a reply as follows: "I am in agreement with whatever [the other attendees] do and wish; and I beseech you [g174] not to implore me further, because I cannot come."

Now Zak'are convened the meeting and requested a pledge from them to do as he requested. They replied: "It is impossible for us to do this without the great *vardapet*." For they called Mxit'ar this out of respect. Then Zak'are [138] showed them the letter and said: "Here he is, for this is his writing. The letter is Mxit'ar and Mxit'ar is the letter." But he did not show them the letter or what Mxit'ar had written to him. The assembly requested his pardon until they themselves sent to Mxit'ar to invite him to the meeting.

They sent to *vardapet* Mxit'ar and beseeched him to attend the meeting so that they could make a unanimous reply to the general. They wrote: "Do not excuse yourselves on account of physical weakness, for if you die on the way to us we shall rank your memory with the first holy *vardapets* of the Church." As soon as Mxit'ar read the council's letter, he immediately arose and went to his hosts.

It was wintertime, close to the celebration of the birth and Revelation of Jesus Christ. Once the general knew that [Mxit'ar] was coming, he sent a prince outside the city walls so that as soon as Mxit'ar came, he would be brought directly to him and not to the meeting. Prior to the arrival of [g175] Mxit'ar, some bishops under Zak'are's domination agreed with the request so that they would not be dethroned. But others did not accept it.

As soon as the *vardapet* arrived, the prince [who had been sent to guide Mxit'ar] took the bridle of his horse and [139] conducted him to the general. When the assembly learned that they were not allowing Mxit'ar to come to them, they sent *vardapet* Nerses, a virtuous and sensible man who subsequently became the director of Kech'arhuk' after the death of *vardapet* Grigoris called Mononik, to go and say to him to come to the meeting first so that they might consult together over what had to be done—since they were under observation and the general was close to sending them into exile.

[Nerses] went and met [Mxit'ar] just as he was about to enter the general's dwelling. From outside [Nerses] shouted to him and delivered the assembly's message. But the prince forcibly took him inside. General Zak'are came before Mxit'ar and greeted him, saying: "Since you are here, [the other clerics] are of no concern to me."

The assembly's members were jealous when they heard this. Protesting, they said: "In everything that the general [Zak'are] does, Mxit'ar is his advisor. We are like beasts in his eyes." And they slandered him greatly [g176].

Now when [Mxit'ar] learned what had gone on at the meeting, he reproached the general with the fact that it was not proper to do such things forcibly. And he sent to the [140] assembly, saying: "Concern yourselves with the nation, so that the people do not mix with the Georgians by any custom and I shall worry about the general, so that he not be Georgian [in religion] like his brother who serves the Georgians. Because this is the way matters stand, why do you reproach me—especially since he has a rescript from the *kat'oghikos* and from King Lewon to do this. We, whether we like it or not, cannot prevent him from doing what he wants.

Each of you now return to your dwelling and we shall beseech the general not to remove you from your churches and places. And we shall continue to worship in the same manner that we have up till now."

Now unbeknownst to the *vardapet*, *amirspasalar* Zak'are secretly gave the order to have them exiled. When the *vardapet* heard about it, he saved many of them from exile so that they returned to their dwellings. After a few days, Iwane, the general's brother, gave the order that the others could also return to their places.

Throughout his lifetime, Zak'are did as he pleased; but all the churches observed the traditional customs [g177].

All the activities, words and works of this assembly were written about by the sagacious and brilliant *vardapet* [141] Vanakan, in his history. Vanakan was an eyewitness to the events which transpired and he heard these things with his own ears, being at the time a student of the great *vardapet* [Mxit'ar]. This and many other things are found in his writings, which may be studied by those who will.

6. The coming of the *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania/Aghuania/Caucasian Albania to the great princes, because of harassment from foreigners.

Of the many sorrows and troubles which the entire world bore in general from the southern peoples, the sons of Ishmael, the lands of Armenia and Aghbania/Aghuania suffered even more, for [the native] kings and princes were exterminated. The Aghbanian *kat'oghikoi* moved hither and thither because there was no stable see. It happened that they came and stopped in a cave by the boundary of a fortress called Ch'arek', and ministered to their flock from there. One of their *kat'oghikoi* [g178] named Bezhgen left his order, took a wife, and fathered children. He was rejected and they ordained lord Step'annos in his place.

[Step'annos] had a suffragan bishop named Sarkawag. One day it happened that the latter went to the city of Gandzak [142] to collect revenues from the priests and Christians living there. As Sarkawag was entering, the emir of the city (whose name was Gurji Badradin) saw him and asked: "Whose man are you?" And as soon as he answered: "The *kat'oghikos*," the emir said to him: "I have heard that the Christians have a great celebration when they bless the waters. Now your holiday is near. Call your *kat'oghikos* with his deacons as is your custom, and bless the waters of our city, that we too make merry with you."

The suffragan bishop went and related the emir's command to the *kat'oghikos*. And the *kat'oghikos* rejoiced exceedingly because none of the *kat'oghikoi* or prominent clerics had dared to openly enter the city or circulate around in it because it was held by the Iranians who thirsted after Christian blood. [This was because the Iranians] had born much affliction from the inhabitants of Xach'en who spent their lives in brigandage and had killed many Iranians, robbing the Christians under their sway. Similarly the Georgian king and his troops were also hostile to the Iranians, and for this reasons, they were enemies of all Christians [g179].

Now the *kat'oghikos* assembled the bishops and *vardapets* of his diocese and went with them to answer the emir's call. When the emir saw him, he rejoiced exceedingly and ordered [143] that they go with great wealth and solemnity, with hooded crosses and bell-ringers, worshipping loudly, to bless the waters. The emir himself mounted on a steed and went with many of his troops to see it, for diversion. The whole city with its pagan population was stirred by the event, and they too went to view it. As soon as the holy oil was sprinkled on the water, the Iranians said: "Aha, the emir would make all of us Christians, for what more do Christians do than baptize and anoint? We all drink from that water, and we bathe in it. Hereafter we shall become faithless apostates because of this. Now come, let's devise something."

Gathering a large mob, they seized the *kat'oghikos* and placed him in prison. They chased after the emir and

threw him into prison as well. They then wrote to the *atabeg* who resided in Isfahan (Aspahan) saying: "This emir has removed us all from our faith, because he allowed the head [g180] of the Christians to dump pig fat into our water. Now both of them, the *kat'oghikos* and the emir, are in prison. Whatever you order will be done to them." The *atabeg* ordered that the emir be removed from his authority and sent to him. As for the *kat'oghikos*, after taking much treasure of gold and [144] silver from him, they let him go wherever he wanted. Delivered from danger, the *kat'oghikos* went to Xach'en, and thereafter no longer dared to enter the borders of Gandzak.

Once the monks in the region around the city and the priests of the districts saw that lord Step'annos did not dare come to them, and since they did not dare go to him, they took that dethroned Bezhgen and [reinstated him], giving him the authority and order of the priesthood. When lord Step'annos learned of this, he excommunicated Bezhgen along with those who had done these things, while he himself moved about, here and there, until he died, in Herg district.

When the *vardapets* and bishops of Aghbania/Aghuania saw that the *kat'oghikosate* had ceased its existence and that there was no one left of the *kat'oghikosal* line, neither bishop nor priest but only a young deacon, they took the latter to bishop Vrt'anes in Bjni and had him ordained priest.

They brought him to Gandzak, to the city's ruler, whose name was emir Omar; and they beseeched him to command that the lad be ordained *kat'oghikos*. But the emir said: "He is extremely young. Why don't you who are already mature become *kat'oghikos*? [g181]" And they told him: "Because this young man is of the *kat'oghikosal* line, the throne belongs to him."

[145] So the emir ordered that he be ordained. There were a few bishops there who ordained him. As soon as this happened, the emir had the *kat'oghikos* Yovhannes mounted on a mule, placed a robe of honor on him, and he ordered that the *kat'oghikos* be led through the streets of the city, with trumpeteers before and behind.

Lord Yovhannes occupied the throne of the Aghbanian *kat'oghikosate* for many years. He established his residence within the borders of Ch'arek', in a cave which we spoke about earlier. However, he was harassed by the foreigners and applied to the grandee princes Zak'are and his brother Iwane to [let him] come to Armenia. They received him with great honor. Iwane settled him in the Miap'or district, in a monastery called Xamshi. He began to build a large, wonderful church, but before it was completed, [the construction] was halted for the sultan of Khurasan, called Jalaladin, came and struck at the kingdom of Georgia and threatened to bring one after another army of foreigners to destroy the lands of Armenia, Aghbania/Aghuania, and Georgia [g182].

7. Concerning the venerable *vardapets* in Vaspurakan.

[146] In these days there were virtuous and radiant *vardapets*, like luminaries, who made the land glow. Among them were Step'annos, the son of Yusik, a wonder-worker and a blessed man whose grave (after his death) became a cure for all the sick; Gorg Karnets'i, a wise and learned man; the [cleric] called Tirats'u who attained the rank of bishop; Astuatsatur (called the son of Aghbayrik) from the city of Archesh. Those who saw this man relate much about his virtues.

He was the son of a wealthy man, and was extremely pious and a lover of the poor. When informed that his mother had died, he thanked God and went to her burial. He took gold and silver and placed it in his mother's hands and then called the poor to take the money from his mother's hands as if she herself was giving it. When his father died he took all his possessions and distributed them to the needy.

He had many stores which he rented; each month, taking the money [g183], he bought sheepskins and cloth with it. With his own hands he sewed them into clothes and gave them to the poor.

[147] Seeing his good deeds, many of the Tachiks came to him and were baptized as Christians by him.

When the unbelievers saw that Astuatsatur was the cause of this, they wanted to kill him. But they did not dare do it because of the multitude of people. They therefore planned to ensnare him secretly. They took one of their servants, strangled him and threw his corpse at the doors of the monastery during nighttime. First thing in the morning they came and besieged the monastery to kill everyone, as though the one inside had committed the murder. When the Christians heard about this, they assembled in countless multitudes to die and to give assistance.

But the holy man of God saw the secret trap of the enemy, how they wanted to slaughter many people on his account, since Iranians ruled in the city. He said to them: "Allow us one night and tomorrow do as you will. Give us the deceased man." And they gave him the body. The *vardapet* then ordered that a night service be performed, and that God be beseeched to deliver them from calumny. Astuatsatur isolated himself [g184] and sighing heavily, he beseeched God for a visitation. In the morning he opened the doors of the monastery and called all inside—believers and unbelievers alike. Making the sign [148] of the Cross, he said loudly, to inform everyone: "I say to you, man, come, arise in the name of Jesus Christ Who created being out of nothingness, and say before everyone who murdered you." The deceased immediately arose and regarded the crowd. He saw his slayer and said: "That man killed me." Then that holy man of God [Astuatsatur] said to him: "Lay down your head once more and repose until the general Resurrection." Instantly, the man died again. Thus were they delivered from death, and the name of Christ was glorified.

8. The death of general Zak'are.

After many feats of bravery and triumphs accomplished by the great princes Zak'are and Iwane, they went to the city of Marand, took it, and destroyed the districts around it. Then they went on to Ardabil (Artawil) and similarly took it.

Many of the inhabitants together with their prayer-callers (who are called *mughri*) took refuge in their prayer houses. Zak'are ordered that grass and stalks be brought. He had [149] oil and naptha poured on this kindling until [the mosques] [g185] were blazing with flames; and he burned [the Muslims] to death saying: "Here are princes and laymen in return for the Armenian princes whom the Tachiks immolated in the churches of Naxchawan, Koran-readers (*kurhayk'n*) in return for the priests of Baguan who were slaughtered and whose blood was splattered on the gates of the church—a place which is darkened to this day."

And Zak'are went to his own land. On the way he became ill, for incurable sores appeared on his limbs. As soon as one would heal, another would flare up. He died after a few days of such torments. All the Christians mourned. They took his body and buried it at Sanahin, in the great church beneath the altar on the right side. Great mourning was undertaken by the king of Georgia, Georgi nicknamed Lasha (son of Soslan and T'amar, grandson of Georgi the great king) and by [Zak'are's] brother Iwane with all the Georgian troops. Zak'are left a young son named Shahنشah, whom Iwane raised along with his own son Sargis (called Awag), until he reached maturity and ruled his patrimonial principality [g186].

9. King Lewon and his death.

The pious and victorious king of the Armenians, Lewon, in addition to the many deeds of bravery that he accomplished, also subjugated the neighboring peoples. The rebel *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, Yovhannes (who was at Hrhomkla), came to him and they were reconciled with each other, once lord Dawit' died at Ark'akaghin.

But King Lewon took ill and died. He had summoned *kat'oghikos* Yovhannes and all the commanders with their troops; and, since he did not have a son, but only a daughter, he entrusted her to the *kat'oghikos* and all the princes so that they enthrone her in his place, obey her, and marry her to a man of corresponding dignity. He entrusted her to the *kat'oghikos* and to two grandee princes—his relative Kostandin and sir Atan (who was of Roman confession)—and then he died peacefully in the year 668 A.E. [1219], having ruled the kingdom for twenty-four years bravely and with a good reputation [g187].

His entire dominion mourned him greatly as did all the troops, for the philo-Christian king was very dear to everyone. After appropriate mourning, they prepared his body for burial.

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

[151] However, a conflict arose since some said that [Lewon] should be buried in the royal city of Sis, while other said [the burial should be] at the monastery called Akner, since the king greatly loved that monastery because of the goodness of its discipline and its marvellous prayers. Now some did not think that monastery a proper site for it was located near the border and there were many enemies around it. "Perhaps," they said, "they will come, remove his body and burn it with fire because of the many grudges they have against him." Finally, they all united. They took [Lewon's] body and buried it in the city of Sis, while his heart and intestines were taken to the monastery called Akner.

Thus did the valiant, ever-triumphant King Lewon repose in piety.

The *kat'oghikos* and the princes brought the son of the lord of Antioch, named prince (*brindz*) and gave him in marriage the daughter of King Lewon, thus making him their king. The youth's name was Phillip and the queen's name was Zabel. When [g188] [Phillip] had ruled the kingdom for four years, his father deceived him and took from him the crown of King Lewon and the [152] royal *paghat* (? tent) which they erected on special occasions, and other treasures of gold and silver. As soon as the princes saw that the man was not loyal to the kingdom, they arrested and held him until he return the crown and treasures. But his father gave neither the one nor the other, and did not aid his son in any way. And they left him there [in prison] until he died.

The great prince Kostandin convinced the *kat'oghikos* and some of the other grandees to enthrone his own son, Het'um, a physically robust and handsome lad. But the queen did not consent to being the wife of a child. She defied him and went to Seleucia, to the Franks there; for her mother was of Frankish nationality, and from the island of Cyprus.

Kostandin took all the troops and besieged the city until they unwillingly surrendered the queen. Kostandin took her and married her to his son, to whom she bore children. The woman was extremely pious and sensible—a lover of all God-fearing and poor folk—who constantly fasted and prayed [g189].

Once his son Het'um had taken the rule of the kingdom, the great prince Kostandin himself assumed all the concerns of the kingdom, arranging everything wisely. Some he made obedient with affection, while the disobedient were eliminated, making some into fugitives, killing others. He made friendship [153] and union with the sultan of Rum, whose name was 'Ala al-Din (Aladin), who had many lands under his control. Kostandin did the same with all the neighboring peoples, and pacified the lands everywhere.

He established his eldest son, Smbat, as general and made the other son prince of the kingdom. And all the monks in the country were unconcerned about their physical necessities, for he himself gave them everything they needed, so that they might occupy themselves with prayers and worship.

The country became filled with skilled and unskilled men who assembled from all sides fleeing the destruction wrought by the T'at'ars who had come from the northeast and overthrown the entire world.

After this, *kat'oghikos* Yovhannnes also died, having occupied the throne for eighteen years. The great prince with the king seated lord Kostandin on the throne of Saint Gregory. He was a virtuous mild man of blessed behavior, who conducted [g190] himself with goodness and regulated the order of the Church with orthodoxy. Kostandin was revered by all peoples, not only by Christians, but also by Tachiks.

[154] Once it happened that the three sultans went to the borders of the city called Hrhomkla on the Euphrates River where the throne of the *kat'oghikosate* was located. The *kat'oghikos* went out to see them. As soon as the sultans learned of his coming, they themselves hastened before him and brought him to the army with great honor. They erected a fine altar for him, in the midst of their altars. On one side was the altar of Melik' K'eml who ruled Egypt, on another side was the altar of Melik' Ashrap' who ruled most of Armenia and Mesopotamia, as well as the altar of their brother's son who ruled Damascus. Thus honoring him greatly for many days, they released him with many presents [including] villages and *dastakerts*, for God glorifies those who glorify Him, both in this world and in the next.

Het'um's reign began in 673 A.E. [1224/25] [g191].

10. A brief section on the history of Aghbania/Aghuania is presented below.

At the beginning of the first [section of this] history we placed [accounts of] the holy Illuminator of the Armenians, blessed Gregory, coadjutor of the apostle, martyr, and thrice-blessed [155] apostles Thaddeus, Bartholemew, and James-Judas, and through [Gregory's] prayers we have reached this far. Now for the second section [we begin with] a chapter on the illuminators of the Aghbanian areas, since they are our relatives and coreligionists, and especially since many of their leaders were Armenian-speaking, their kings obedient to the kings of the Armenians and under their control, their bishops ordained by Saint Gregory and his successors, and their people remained with us in orthodoxy. For these reasons it is fitting to recall the two peoples together. Therefore we will begin by concisely describing their leaders up to the point where we left off.

They say that the initial cause of the illumination of the eastern areas was the blessed Eghishe (pupil of the great Thaddeus the Apostle) who, after the death of the holy Apostle went to Jerusalem to James, the brother of the Lord, received [g192] ordination as bishop from him, and then went to the land of Iran eventually reaching the land of the Aghbanians/Aghuans. He came to a place called Gis and built a church there, and he himself was martyred there, though it is not known by whom. His body was thrown into a well with other corpses and it remained there until the time of pious King Vach'agan the last.

[156] Here are the kings of the Aghbanians/Aghuans from the line of Hayk, descendants of Arhan whom the Parthian Vagharshak set up as overseer and prince of those areas. First Vach'agan, Vach'e, Urhnayr. The latter came to the great king of the Armenians, Trdat, and to Saint Gregory and was baptized by him; and Saint Gregory gave to King Urhnayr a man from among his deacons who had come with him from Rome, and whom [Gregory] had ordained as bishop. Vach'agan, Marhawan, Sato, Asa, Esvaghen. In the days of the latter king, the venerable Mesrop made alphabets for the Armenians, Georgians, and Aghbanians/Aghuans. [Then] Vach'e [ruled]. Yazdigert, king of Iran, who destroyed the holy Vardaneans forcibly made [Vach'e] a mage, but subsequently he left magianism and his kingdom with it, became an ascetic adhering to a severe discipline, and reconciled himself with God against Whom he had sinned. Then the pious Vach'agan ruled, whom we recalled above. He heard that they had thrown blessed Eghishe[*'s body*] into a well and he ordered that all the bones found [in the well] be removed. They removed them and piled them into heaps. The pious king prayed to God that the bones of Saint Eghishe be [g193] revealed. A fierce wind arose and scattered across the face of the plain all the bones except for those of Saint Eghishe. Thanking God, the king gathered them up and distributed [the relics] throughout his realm.

[157] Then holy Shup'haghisoy became bishop. However we are confused about his placement, for the man who wrote the history of the Aghbanians [translator's note: See the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Movses Dasxuranci, C.J.F. Dowsett trans. (London 1961). A more recent English translation is available on

another page of this website: Movses Dasxurants'i's [History of the Aghuans](#).] places his name in the time of the pious Vach'agan, proof of which being the canons which Vach'agan established with all the bishops of the Aghbanians, writing: "I Vach'agan, king of the Aghbanians, and Shup'haghishoy, archbishop of Partaw." Elsewhere this name is not found again among the ranks of the bishops. But as we have found it, so we have written it.

Then lord Matt'e, lord Sahak five [years], lord Movses six [years], lord Pant seven [years] lord Ghazar eight [years]. Then the blessed youth Grigoris, son of great Vrt'anes brother of Yusik, grandson of Saint Gregory whom the great king of the Armenians Trdat sent and who was killed on the plain of Vatean as a martyr of God, [was patriarch]. His body was brought and buried at Amaras. Later, during the time of Vach'agan, relics were discovered among which were those of the blessed Zak'aria, father of John the Baptist and of Pantalemon the great martyr for Christ who was slain in the city of Nicomedia in the time of Maximianos [and whose relics] Saint Gregory had taken with him.

[158] Then lord Zak'aria [ruled], ten years, [followed by] lord Dawit' for eleven years, and lord Yovhannes (who also was bishop of the Huns), twelve years, lord Eremia, thirteen years. In Eremia's time the venerable Mesrop created the Aghbanian/Aghuanian alphabet with great effort. Lord Abas [ruled] for fourteen years. The Council of Dwin wrote to Abas that he should recite the formula "Holy God, immortal, Who Was crucified" and "of one nature, divine and human." Lord Viroy for thirty-three years. He was a prisoner for many years at the court of Xosrov, the Iranian king, but after Xosrov's death he was freed and came to his own country. He freed the Armenian, Georgian and Aghbanian prisoners from the Xazar Shat' (son of Jebu Xak'an who had enslaved the land). He built six cities named after Shat': Shat'arh, Shamk'or, Shak'i, Shirvan, Shamaxi, and Shaporan. Lord Zak'aria [who ruled for] fifteen years, saved the great city of Partaw from slavery by his prayers. Lord Yovhan [ruled for] twenty-five years. Lord Uxtanes, twelve years [g195]. [It was Uxtanes] who cursed the Aghbanian *naxarars* for their foul mixed marriages, and all of them died. Then lord Eghiazar [ruled for] six years. Lord Nerses [ruled for] seventeen years. While [Nerses] was bishop of Gardman, he convinced a certain woman named Spram, the wife of an Aghbanian prince, that if she had him ordained *kat'oghikos* of the Aghbanians, he would do whatever she wanted. The woman was steeped in the Chalcedonian heresy. [159] She entreated the bishops to ordain Nerses Bakur as *kat'oghikos* of the Aghbanians.

After some time had passed, the heresy which she had conceived within her became apparent. As soon as she was reprimanded by the bishops and priests, she began persecuting many of them. The spiritual leaders of the Aghbanians/Aghuans assembled and anathematized her and wrote to the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, Eghia, to aid them.

Eghia wrote [a message] to the head of the Tachiks, Abdlmelik', to the effect that "The [religious] leader of the Aghbanians and a woman here want to place their land in rebellion against you, for they are assisting the Greeks." Abdlmelik' commanded Eghia to go to Aghbania and dethrone him and to send him and the woman to court with their feet bound and thrown onto camels like freight, so that they would be the objects of derision for all the troops.

Eghia and the king's eunuch went to the city of Partaw and executed the royal order. While they mocked him thus with dishonor, Nerses died bitterly from exasperation, eight days later [g196]. All the Aghbanians *naxarars* and all the bishops gave [160] pledges before the eunuch with the royal command and seal that they would not ordain an Aghbanian *kat'oghikos* without the order of the Armenian *kat'oghikos*.

Then Eghia ordained for the Aghbanian [patriarchal] throne lord Simeon, who removed the disturbance caused by Nerses. [Simeon] reigned for one and a half years and established canons with seven provisions.

Lord Mik'ayel [reigned for] thirty-five years. He summoned the prior of Mak'enots'ats' [monastery], Soghomon, and cursed those who had married their relatives in the third degree. These were generally

eliminated. They also anathematized the Georgian [spiritual] leader T'alile, for he had authorized the illegal marriages. Then lord Anania [ruled for] four years. Lord Yovsep' [ruled for] seventeen years. In the fifth year of his reign the two hundredth year of the Armenian Era was completed [751/52]. Lord Dawit' [ruled for] four years. [Dawit'] freed Church lands and ornaments. He died of poisoning. [Another] lord Dawit' [then ruled for] nine years. He sold Dastakert and Sahmanaxach' to the infidels. Lord Matt'eos [ruled for] one and a half years; he too was given poison to drink and died from it. Lord Movses, one and a half years; lord [g197] Aharon two years; lord Soghomon, half a year [Editor K. Melik'-Ohanjanyan has inserted this patriarch from the list Kirakos was using, i.e., the list in Book III of Movses Dasxurants'i's *History of the Caucasian Aghbanians*]; lord Teodoros [161] four years; lord Soghomon, eleven years; lord Yovhannes, twenty-five years. [Yovhannes] moved the *kat'oghikosate* to Bardak which was their summer residence when it was removed from Partaw. Lord Movses [ruled for] one half year; lord Dawit', for twenty-eight years. It was [Dawit'] who blessed the impious marriage of the lord of Shak'i. Now the prince's lay brother asked [Dawit']: "Whence do you come, lord?" And [Dawit'] replied: "From your brother's house." Then the prince said to Dawit': "May your tongue, which blessed this not speak, and may your eye dry up." And this very thing happened immediately, nor was [Dawit'] cured until his death.

Then lord Yovsep' [ruled for] twenty-five years. In his third year, the three hundredth year of the Armenian Era was completed [851/52].

Lord Samuel [ruled for] seventeen years. He assumed the dignity [of *kat'oghikos*] by himself, but was later dethroned by Georg, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, and forced to undergo a second ordination in Dwin.

Lord Yovhan [ruled for] eight and a half years. He was court-bishop of the Armenians. While Georg was in captivity, [162] Yovhan went to the land of the Aghbanians and was ordained there without the permission of lord Georg. But when the Aghbanian princes ransomed back lord Georg, he removed Yovhan from the dignity [of the *kat'oghikosate*]. The Aghbanian princes beseeched Georg as a favor to accept Yovnan, and so he ordained him again.

Lord Simeon [ruled for] twenty-one years; lord Dawit', five years; lord Sahak, eighteen years; lord Gagik, fourteen years. In [Gagik's] fourth year, the four hundredth year of the Armenian Era was completed [951/52] [g198].

Lord Dawit' from the episcopate of Kapaghak [ruled for] seven years [Translator's note: this sentence was added from the list appearing at the end of Book III in Movses Dasxurants'i's *History of the Caucasian Aghbanians*.].

Lord Dawit' [ruled for] six years. He was ordained by the Armenian *kat'oghikos* Anania.

Lord Petros [ruled for] sixteen years. Lord Movses (who had been director of Parhisos monastery) [ruled for] six years. Then lord Markos, a man of God, [ruled, followed by Yovsep', another Markos, followed by lord Step'annos. Then lord [163] Yovhannes [ruled for] fifty years, followed by lord Step'annos for one and a half years. He died in his youth. In 588 A.E.[1139] during the reign of lord Grigoris, the great *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, there had been no leader of the Aghbanian patriarchal house for twenty-five years.

There remained one lad from the *kat'oghikosal* line named Gagik (son of Georg, grandson of Karapet) whom they nourished and educated. When he reached maturity, *vardapet* Grigor Tok'aker's son, Dawit' Alawka's son, and others from the land of the Aghbanians wrote a letter of entreaty to Grigoris, the great patriarch of the Armenians who at that time was in the West. And they sent a man with the letter so that he be ordained [g199] bishop and so that Grigoris send them one of his own bishops and give the command to ordain the young Gagik for the patriarchal throne of the Aghbanians, so that the leaderless country not be lost.

The patriarch ordained the man sent to him. He also ordered the bishop of Karin to go to the land of the

Aghbanians and to ordain the Aghbanian *kat'oghikos*.

The bishop of Karin, Sahak, and the other bishop ordained an additional twelve bishops, according to the dictates of [164] Scripture, and then they ordained Gagik as *kat'oghikos*, naming him Grigores after the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians.

During those days, fog and locusts unexpectedly filled all the mountains and plains, and a great earthquake occurred which destroyed the capital city of Gandzak. By the grace of God, the newly-elected *kat'oghikos* was saved, but the great *vardapet* Grigor died along with a countless multitude of men, women and children who were killed under the buildings which collapsed on them.

Demetre, the king of Georgia, came and took to his country everything he found [at Gandzak], as booty, including the city gates.

Alharak Mountain also crumbled and the small valley which ran along it was blocked so that a lake was formed, which exists to this day [g200].

After eight years, a luminous comet appeared which was a symbol of the famine, destruction by the sword and captivity which befell the country.

When *kat'oghikos* Gagik had attained perfection in spiritual [165] knowledge, he passed from the world, and once more darkness settled in those parts.

Then lord Bezhgen [ruled. It was he] who left his order and took a wife. He was followed by lord Step'annos, for twenty years; after him lord Yovhannes [ruled] for twenty years. He constructed a magnificent church in the Miap'or district at the monastery called Xamshi, and was alive in our own time. Then [the patriarchal throne was occupied by] lord Nerses, [Yovhannes'] brother, a man with a meek and good character who was ordained in 684 A.E. [1235].

11. Concerning the coming of the T'at'ar army and the putting to flight of the king of the Georgians.

In 669 A.E. [1220], while the Georgians were feeling proud of their conquests—for they had triumphed over the Tachiks and wrested from them many districts of Armenia—suddenly, unexpectedly, many detachments of well organized soldiers burst through the Darband Gate, came to the land of the Aghbanians, and then passed to the lands of the Armenians and the Georgians. Whatever they found on their way they put to the sword—man [g201], [166] beast, even down to the dogs. They were not at all concerned with taking expensive clothing or anything else, except horses. They quickly came to the city of Tiflis (Tp'xis), once more descended into the land of the Aghbanians to the borders of the city of Shamk'or. False information arrived concerning [the Mongols], to the effect that they were mages and/or of the Christian faith, wonder-workers, and that they had come to avenge the Christians from the tyranny of the Tachiks. And it was said that they had with them a portable tent-church, as well as a miracle-working cross, and that they would bring an ephah of barley and put it before this cross and all the troops would take from it and give it to their horses, yet the supply would not be exhausted, for when all of them had finished taking, the original amount remained. The same was true for their own food. Such were the false rumors that filled the land. Therefore the inhabitants of the land did not fortify themselves in, to the point that one lay priest took his people and even went before them with hooded crosses. The enemy put them to the sword, one and all. Thus finding many people unconcerned, [the Mongols] destroyed and ruined numerous places. Then they secured their bags and baggage in the marshy, muddy place which lies between the cities of Partaw and Belukan, a very safe place

which they call Beghamej; and they destroyed many districts with brazen attacks [g202].

[167] Then Lasha, king of the Georgians, and the great *hazarapet* Iwane mustered troops to go to war against [the Mongols]. They descended to the plain called Xunan, for the enemy force was located there; and they fought one another, the former putting the enemy to flight. However, because the enemy had made an ambush, they fell upon the Georgian troops from behind and began to destroy them. Those [Mongols] who were fleeing likewise turned on them, and trapping them in the middle, they dealt great blows to the Christian troops. The king and all the princes fled. The enemy gathered booty from the troops and took it to their camp.

Once again the king of the Georgians mustered his troops, this time more than before, and wanted to battle with the enemy. But [the Mongols] collected their wives, children, and all their bags and baggage, and wanted to pass through the Darband Gate to their own land. But the Tachik troops who were in Darband did not allow them to enter. So [the Mongols] crossed the Caucasus mountains (Kawkas) at an impassable spot, filling the abyss with wood, stones, their goods, horses, and military [g203] equipment, and thus crossed over and went to their own land.

The name of their leader was Sabada Bahatur.

[168]

12. The defeat of the troops in the borders of Gandzak.

Subsequently, after some time had passed, another force of Huns, called Qipchaqs (Xbch'ax) came through the land of the Georgians to King Lasha and to the *hazarapet* Iwane. [The Qipchaqs wanted Lasha and Iwane] to give them a place to live and [in return] they would serve [the Georgians] loyally. However, [the Georgians] did not agree to accept them.

So [the Qipchaqs] arose and went to the residents of the city of Gandzak where they were received joyfully, since the people there had been placed into great straits by the Georgian army which ruined their lands and enslaved man and beast. [The people of Gandzak] gave [the Qipchaqs] a place to dwell within the confines of the city and aided them with food and drink so that with their help they might resist the kingdom of the Georgians. The Hun troops halted there and settled in.

Then Iwane mustered troops and arrogantly went against them. He greatly boasted that he would exterminate them and [g204] the city as well, placing his trust in the multitude of his troops and not in God Who gives the victory to whomever He pleases.

[169] When the two groups clashed, the barbarians calmly emerged from their lairs and put to the sword the wearied and [God-]forsaken Georgian army. They arrested many and put the remainder to flight. There was a great destruction of the Christian troops on that day. So many were abandoned by the protection of God that one bad man [i.e., a poor fighter] was able to capture many brave and experienced warriors like a shepherd leading his flock before him. For God had removed His aid from their swords and did not assist them in battle. [The Qipchaqs] brought the honorable men [of the captives] and sold them for some clothing or food. Iranians bought them and tormented them with unbearable tortures, demanding such quantities of gold and silver that it was impossible to pay. And many of them died in prison.

[The Qipchaqs] seized, among others, Grigor (son of Haghbak, brother of brave Vasak) and his brother's son Papak'; for Vasak had three sons: Papak', Mkdem, and Hasan (called Prhosh), brave and distinguished men who had caused all the Tachik troops to quake with fear. They killed Papak' in battle. As for Grigor, they

arrested him and tormented him with numerous tortures to make him deny Christ, but he did not do so. On the contrary, he insulted their deceiving law-giver Mahmet and their [170] loathsome faith even more. [Grigor's captors] grew angry and dragged him naked over the earth and lacerated his entire body with thorns and so tortured him that he gave up the ghost because of the beatings, receiving a martyr's crown from Christ. These men were from Xach'en district of a prominent family, Christians, orthodox, and of Armenian nationality.

The impious Iranians oppressed many other captives with various tortures, keeping them hungry, thirsty, and naked. Now the Christians in the city of Gandzak displayed much benevolence toward the captives, buying back some and freeing them, feeding and clothing some, burying the dead and performing similar good deeds.

But after some days had passed, the great *hazarapet* Iwane once again mustered troops and went to wreak vengeance on those who had destroyed his troops. He attacked them at an unexpected moment and put the barbarians to the sword. He captured their booty and enslaved their children, taking both to his land.

13. *Vardapet* Mxit'ar, where he was from and what sort of man he was.

This renowned and very learned man was from the city of [171] Gandzak, the son of Christian parents who had given him an education in Scripture. When he reached puberty, he was ordained a celibate priest. Having served many years as a priest, he wished to become learned in the deeper meaning of Scripture and the profound proverbs contained therein. Mxit'ar met *vardapet* Yovhannes (called Tawushets'i) who at that time was renowned for his learning. At first for a while he lived a lay life, then, separating from his wife, he pursued a religious calling, and being very knowledgeable in Scripture, he earned the title of *vardapet*. Mxit'ar stayed [with Yovhannes] for many years, studying [g207].

Vardapet Yovhannes was peripatetic, travelling from place to place preaching the Word of God and exhorting good conduct for mankind. He regularized many features in the ritual and religion of the Christians, for even at that time in various places, people were breaking fast on Saturdays and Sundays of the holy Forty Days of Lent. Yovhannes ruled that the fast should be held as on the other days of the week but that they celebrate on Saturday the martyrs of God and on Sunday the mystery of the Resurrection of Christ and offer mass. In this way every place established the fifty day fast, whereas before some maintained it while others did not.

Mxit'ar, after remaining and studying with this man and [172] others had earned the title of *vardapet*. But still not satisfied, he went to a place in the West [in Cilicia] called Seaw (Black) mountain to the *vardapets* who were teachers there. He did not disclose to them that he too was a *vardapet*, but instead profited a great deal from their knowledge. He then went to the city of Karin. There he met the pious Christian prince named K'urd, who was estranged from the king of the Georgians. He became acquainted with him and loved by him like a father. After this Mxit'ar returned to his own land [g208].

The renown of his learning spread throughout all the lands and many pupils studied doctrine with him. Harassed by the Tachiks (at the instigation of Step'annos, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghbanians), Mxit'ar went to the land of Xach'en to Vaxt'ank, the prince of Hat'erk' and his brothers who greatly honored him. He stayed there a few years.

Then prince K'urd returned to his patrimony, coming to the land of Kayean and Mahkanaberd. The queen of the Georgians named T'amar gave him many honors, returning to him his patrimonial holdings, and many others besides. [K'urd] was the father of Sadun and Dawit', grandfather of Sherbarak', Sadun's son.

[173] Now upon learning that the prince had returned to his patrimony, Mxit'ar went to him on account of the

earlier unity and friendship they had toward one another. And Mxit'ar dwelled in the monastery called Getik in the Kayean district, situated on the right bank of the great river named Aghstev.

The director of the monastery was a *vardapet* named Sarkawag, his own pupil, who received [Mxit'ar] with joy and attended him himself. [Mxit'ar] remained there a long while [g209].

Then a severe earthquake occurred which ruined many places, overturning the tall structures. Among the casualties was the church of Getik, which was so devastated that it was impossible to restore it. The residents were in a quandry about what to do and wanted to disperse, not only because of the collapse of the church, but because they were being harassed by their neighbors. For a certain prince named Sargis had transferred his village from its [original] location and built another village near the monastery. Thereafter there were numerous disagreements between the two groups and constant accusations.

But the blessed *vardapet* prevented the group [members] from thinking about separating from each other. Instead he wanted the congregation to remain together, and to request a [174] new abode. So they went united to the great prince Iwane, brother of Zak'are, general of the Georgians, sons of the sister of pious prince K'urd, who at that time ruled the fortress of Kayean and the district. They acquainted him with their problem so that he give them a place where they could transfer their monastery. Iwane commanded them to see where a suitable site existed; and, travelling about, they found a charming spot, a hollow by the foot of two mountains which stands at its head. They named the place Tandzut valley. In this valley there [g210] was a village with a small brook crossing through it [a brook] which flowed more copiously on the right side in a wooded glen, with plenty of water. They decided that this spot was suitable.

14. Concerning the building of Nor (New) Getik.

The marvellous *vardapet* and his monks then began work on the construction of a monastery and church in the above-mentioned Tandzut valley, by order of the great prince Iwane. They built a beautiful wooden church which was consecrated in the name of saint Gregory.

Present at the consecration of the church was the blessed [175] *vardapet* Xach'atur Taronats'i, director of the holy congregation of Haghartsin, a holy, virtuous man renowned for his learning, especially for his musical knowledge. He made the holy congregation which he directed sparkle though prior to his coming it was desolate and withered. The king of the Georgians, Giorgi, T'amar's father, especially esteemed Xach'atur. And he gave to the church, under his own signature, two villages, Abasadzor and Tandzut, and a vineyard in Mjnnashen. And by all the saints he [g211] placed a curse on anyone who dared to shear these properties from the monastery. [Xach'atur] brought to the East the *xaz* [musical notation system] which was not yet spread throughout the lands, and he thereby gave form to the formless melodies, making them rational. He came and wrote and instructed many, then took rest from difficult labors. [Xach'atur] passed to Christ and is buried on the western side of the church.

At Nor Getik, at the head of the monastery, they also built a smaller church in the name of Saint John the Baptist, the ordainer of Christ, the greatest fruit of womankind. Then they began on the foundation of the glorious church built with dressed stones and [crowned] with a heavenly dome, a marvel to the beholder. [Construction] was begun in 640 A.E. [1191], four years after Salahadin took Jerusalem, and it was completed in five years, during the disturbance of Greek Easter.

[176] Now regarding Easter there was much dispute and argument with the Armenians among all peoples,

especially the Georgians, for they brazenly said that the false [date] was the correct one. The accursed Iron had corrupted [the date] at the court of the impious Justinian because he was not invited to the council held in Alexandria regarding the designation of [the date of the celebration of] Easter and other feasts. Following the completion of the two hundred year [calendar] of Andreas, [the celebration of] all feasts was confused for a period of nine years because they were [g212] unable to correctly maintain his [calendrical] system. However a certain wise man named Eas protested and called to himself learned men from all peoples: Phineas the Jew, Gigan the Syrian, Adde the Cappadocian, Elogs the Greek, and many others. They began counting the years from the bottom up. Finding a stable system, they created a five hundred year cycle which was perpetually accurate. They took this to emperor Justinian who ordered Iron [to examine it]. Iron was jealous of the skill of the talented people involved [in creating] the calendrical system and because he was not invited, and so he wanted to spoil things somehow. He changed April fifteenth to the sixteenth, and the sixth to the fifth, deceitfully claiming that everything was right except for that. The sixteenth was not incorrect, but as for the fifth, for ninety-five [177] years continuously it caused them to err, taking Easter along with the Jews earlier than was correct, since for them [Easter] was the fifth [Sunday], while for us it was the sixth, as happened [on this occasion].

Now because of this argument between Armenians and Georgians, Queen T'amar and *sparapet* Zak'are sent some one of the great Georgian princes and likewise one of the Armenians to Jerusalem prior to Easter, to learn the truth. The verdict was to be given by the radiant lamp on the Holy Sepulcher of Christ which, they say, at the request of Gregory Illuminator of the Armenians (with no assist from human hands or tangible fire), is lit up by the command of God each Easter. It happens to this day [g213].

However, the overseers of the city, who were Tachiks, asked the Christians: "When is your Easter?" Those who were Greek and other denominations replied: "This Sunday." But the Armenians said: "Not this Sunday, next Sunday." Now the Tachik overseer was a wise man and so ordered all the lights in that temple extinguished, the doors closed and sealed with his ring, and he forbade anyone to enter, in order to determine which group was right.

[178] Now when the day arrived and had passed into evening, they awaited the illumination of the lamp. When it did not light up, the prince ordered all except the Armenians to be insultingly removed and severely beaten as ignorant and false people. When a week passed and the next Sunday (which the Armenians had said was Easter) arrived, while they were praying at the tenth hour, [divine] inspiration came upon them and at once the lamp lit up without human hands touching it. The Armenians were jubilant. Once more the Tachiks beat the others, and everyone praised the wisdom and faith of the Armenians while they derided and jeered at the Greeks in all the cities under Tachik rule. The men who had been sent by the Georgian monarch and by the general observed this [g214], returned and related what they had seen. The great general Zak'are rejoiced as did all the Armenians in the [Georgian] army. And the true faith of the Armenians was strengthened further.

In this year the renowned and joyous church of Getik was completed. It was built by *vardapet* Mxit'ar with his religious community with the aid of Vaxt'ang Xach'enats'i, lord of Hat'erk' and his brothers Grigor, Grigoris, Xoydan, and Vasak and other pious princes, Dawit' and Sadun (the sons of K'urd) as well as their sister named Arzu xat'un [179] (Vaxt'ang Hat'erk'ets'i's wife).

This woman did much to help. She and her daughters made a beautiful curtain of the softest goats' hair as a covering for the holy altar, a marvel to behold. It was dyed with variegated colors like a piece of carving with pictures accurately drawn on it showing the Incarnation of the Savior and other saints. It astonished those who saw it. Beholders would bless God for giving women the knowledge of tapestry-making and the genius of embroidery, as is said in Job, for it was no less than the altar ornaments [g215] Beseliel and Eghiab fashioned [Exodus 36.1]. Nor is it bold to make this statement, for the same spirit moved them both. Not only did the woman make a curtain for this church at Getik, but for other churches as well—Haghbat, Makaravank', and Dadivank'; for she was a great lover of the Church, and very pious.

The pre-consecration festival at Getik was conducted with great throngs of people attending. Among those present was Yovhannes, the bishop of Haghbat, a virtuous and blessed man as well as a multitude of priests and servitors. And they consecrated the church in the name of the blessed Mother of God.

[180] They also constructed a beautiful parvis of dressed stones for the church. The great general Zak'are and his brother Iwane provided much support, for they held the princship of the district and they so loved the holy *vardapet* (for in confession, Zak'are was his spiritual son). They gave the church [extensive] land bounded by streams [extending] from mountain to mountain, as well as a mine in Abasadzor, and Zoradzor in the district of Bjni, and Ashawan above the monastery.

They themselves also built a village close to a small lake of immense depth, naming the village after the lake Tzrkatsov (for in it swam many marsh-loving, mud-loving reptiles) [g216], as well as another smaller village below the monastery which they named Urhelanj. They also built many other chapels in the name of blessed Apostles and the holy Hr'ip'sime.

Because Mxit'ar loved deserts and uninhabited places, he made his home distant from the monastery. There he built a small wooden church in the name of the Holy Spirit. In his old age he built a church as a mausoleum for himself above the monastery on the right. It was made with dressed stones and lime and named for the Resurrection of Christ.

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

15. Concerning those of [Mxit'ar's] students who were prominent.

[181] There were many people who studied doctrine with him since the renown of his learning had reached everywhere. They came to him from all areas since, true to his name [Mxit'ar (Mxit'arich', "comforter")], he comforted everyone. He was a consoler resembling Barnabus and noted among the people like Anton. His words, full of grace were efficacious and everyone wanted to see and hear him. For this reason, many who held the title of *vardapet* concealed their identities [g217] and came as students and received the command again. Many of Mxit'ar's students attained the title of *vardapet*. But two of them were more learned than the others and able to assist others in turn. First was T'oros, from Armenian Melitene, whose father was Armenian and whose mother was Syrian. He was a meek and humble man, virtuous, very fond of the poor, a host to strangers, and generous with gifts. Having lived such a benevolent life, he was gathered to his fathers in ripe old age. He is buried above the renowned monastery of Haghat, in the cemetery of bishops and *vardapets*. May his memory be blessed and his prayers, a buttress for the faithful.

The second [noteworthy student] was named Vanakan. He [182] was a holy, modest man, foremost in all good works, rational and sensitive to all and more competent in doctrine than all the others of his time. He was an excellent, creative thinker who could speak appropriately. For these reasons many people came to him, not only to study doctrine, but indeed his entire life and activity were unwritten laws for the observers. I say this not merely as someone who heard it from others, but as an eyewitness, for we spent much time with him getting an education in the borders of Tawush fortress [g218] in the retreat where he had his abode. Like a fountain [of wisdom] he gave us the words of doctrine to drink.

16. The death of the great *vardapet* called Gosh.

This venerable man of whom we spoke above, reached great old age, having kept his faith. But when he saw that his bodily strength was failing and that he was close to joining his fathers, he called the residents of the congregation of Nor Getik who had shared with him in all the labors of the church and monastery, and he blessed them and his students in the name of the Lord. Selecting one of them, named Martiros, who had studied with him and was his intimate, Mxit'ar appointed him as their director. Martiros was a youth [183] but perfected in learning, a man mellifluous in the songs of worship, a great reader, and a speedy writer. Mxit'ar commanded him to direct them. And he wrote a will to the great *hazarapet* Iwane, Zak'are's brother, and entrusted to him the monastery and its director. Then he himself, white-haired [g219] and ripe in years, passed from this world to Christ.

The director of the monastery, Martiros, together with the congregation handsomely saw to the proper requirements for the spiritual and physical burial of Mxit'ar. They laid him to rest before the door of the smaller church which stands above the monastery on the west side. And to this day Mxit'ar's grave aids those in pain who take refuge in his prayers, in faith; and people always take soil from that place to cure sick people

and animals, for God glorifies those that glorify Him, in life and in death.

Once it happened that his servitors came up bringing wine on asses, for the monastery's needs. A certain Georgian named Basila came and wanted to take some of that wine from them, for he was Iwane's official in charge of the grove which guarded his lodging. But the attendants said to him: "Do not bother us for we are Gosh's people" (that is the nickname they gave him since he had little hair). But this wretched man [184] insulted them and Gosh with curses. Now as soon as he ridiculed Gosh's name, he immediately became dumb, his tongue froze, his lips became twisted, and thus he remained for many days until, sighing, he requested forgiveness [g220]. And everyone who saw the man praised [Gosh] the servant of God.

As a memorial [Gosh] left [his writings,] books filled with profound words, beneficial for students: an abbreviated version of the prophecy of Jeremiah, beautifully executed, and a few canons concerning attendance on the Body and Blood of the Lord—what is proper, and in what order. He also left a book *Lamentations on Nature*, opposing Adam to his sons and Eve to her daughters; and another book, *Declaration of the Orthodox Faith against All Heretics*, at the request of the great general Zak'are and his brother, and other letters giving counsel. [Gosh's] death occurred in 662 A.E. [1213].

17. Concerning who held the directorship of the monastery after him.

The monastery became glorified and renowned through the name and wisdom of the holy *vardapet* Martiros the director, for he was a builder. He built yet another parsonage-house of undressed stones joined with lime, with well-secured walls [185] and a wooden garret. This garret subsequently collapsed [g221]. He also built a lovely storied library artistically inspired by Mxit'ar, who had aided the church and the monastery in many ways.

Many monks assembled there because of the renown of the place and it became for many a place of nourishment and learning. In fact, we ourselves were nourished and educated in this very monastery.

They also started to build a church with five altars of polished, dressed stones, a beautiful design with a dome. But when the church was half completed, a delay occurred which lasted a long while, since the sultan of Khurasan, Jalal al-Din [the Khwarazmshah], came and struck the forces of the Armenians and Georgians, and ruined numerous districts. For this and many other reasons, the church remained unfinished. Later a man named Grigor Kapalets'i, who previously had been instrumental in building the church, once again took the matter in hand and completed it in 690 A.E. [1241].

Iwane, Zak'are's brother, also died [that year] and was buried at Pghndzahank' near the church which he himself had built, taking it from the Armenians and making it into a Georgian monastery. Before dying, Iwane entrusted his son and home to [186] a certain prince Grigor whom he had nourished and elevated, and who was called Tgha [g222].

This Grigor requested from Iwane's son Awag the monastery of Getik for his grave site; and because [Awag] greatly loved him, he gave it to him. [Grigor] also purchased from him a village named Vashxe close by the Aghstev river and gave it to the monastery along with much wealth, books, crosses, and animals. He also built a wondrous church, an amazing structure, with three altars close to the portico of the church, and named the church in honor of Saint Gregory. There were many other structures within it. The number of priests, attendants and young students increased. Martiros held the directorship for twenty years, resigning voluntarily. After him, [the directorship was held by] a certain Mxit'ar, by Yovasap', and others who ruled briefly, and by *vardapet* Abraham. [They were followed by] lord Yovhannes Armanets'i who was simultaneously director of Haghartsin and had been ordained bishop in 705 A.E. [1256]. At Haghartsin

[Yovhannes] built a noteworthy refectory of brightly polished stone, and then went to the great throne at Haghabat. In 703 A.E. [1254] *vardapet* Xach'atur and his brother Barsegh built a domed church with three altars opposite the monastery, in honor of Saint Georg [g223].

18. Concerning Sultan Jalal al-Din and the destruction of the Georgian army in 674 A.E. [1225].

[187] Previously we spoke of the people from the northeast called T'at'ars. These T'at'ars harassed the sultan of Khurasan, Jalal al-Din, striking his army and destroying his lands. They caused him to flee through the land of Aghbania and he came and captured the city of Gandzak. He then assembled his countless troops from among the Iranians, Tachiks and Turks, and came to Armenia.

When Iwane learned of this circumstance, he informed the king of Georgia and massed troops to resist the sultan. Pridefully he boasted most arrogantly and the king and Iwane made an agreement that if Iwane defeated Jalal al-Din, all the Armenians under their sway would convert to the Georgians' faith, while they would kill those resisting. This scheme, and the vow they made, took no account of God nor of His concern, nor did they ask the Lord Who grants victory to whomever He pleases.

Now the sultan had come to the Kotayk' district. Iwane [g224] went with the Georgian army and came opposite them but on higher ground. Seeing them, [Iwane] was frightened and encamped there. But the sultan moved his troops forward, coming [188] against them. Now as soon as this was observed by one of the senior Georgian princes, Shalue, and by his brother Iwane, men brave and renowned and triumphant in battle, they said to the other troops: "You stay here and wait while we go and engage them. If we put some of them to flight in our pursuit, the victory is ours. [If that happens] come forth. But if they defeat us, then flee and save your lives."

As soon as they engaged them, they began to destroy the sultan's army. But the Georgian soldiers paid no attention and instead fled the place, such that a man did not recognize his comrade in flight. And all of them, out of fright, left without anyone pursuing them. They pressed down into the valley above the town of Garhni, and filled it up. When the sultan's forces observed this, they pursued them, killed many, and hurled others over the cliffs.

The sultan came to the head of the valley and witnessed a pitiful spectacle. For a multitude of men and horses lay there piled up like a heap of rocks. He shook his head and said: "This is not the work of man, but of God for Whom all is possible." He then turned to rob the corpses of the fallen [g225], and, having devastated many places, went off to the city of Tiflis. The Iranians residing there aided him and he captured [189] the city killing many people and forcing many others to abandon Christianity and accept the deceptive and fanatical teaching of the Tachiks. Many, terrified by the fear of death, exchanged Truth for falsehood; but others bravely preferred death to a life of guilt, and so inherited the title of martyr, departing the world with a good name.

Then [Jalal al-Din] commanded that those who consented and those who did not be forcibly circumcised, without inquiry. Thus two men would brutally seize someone there in the square while another man would take a sword and cut the foreskin off his male member. They commingled with the women in loathsome obscenity. Wherever they found a cross or a church, they pulled it down and destroyed it. This occurred not only in Tiflis, but in Gandzak, Naxichewan, and elsewhere.

Now there was a certain nobleman named Orghan whose wife was the sultan's mother. He oppressed the residents of the city of Gandzak with manifold torments—not merely the Christians, but the Iranians too—by

demanding numerous [g226] taxes. This man was killed in Gandzak by the Mulhed [Assassins], whose custom it is to kill people treacherously. While he was going about the city streets, some people approached him, feigning that they had been wronged by someone and [190] that they were approaching him to set things right. They showed [Orghan] a piece of paper which they had in hand, saying beseechingly: "Trial, trial!" As soon as he stopped and wanted to inquire about who had molested them, from one side and the other, they pounced on him and with a sword they had concealed on their persons, they stabbed and slew him. And so the wicked one was wickedly done away with. They were hardly able to slay [Orghan's] murderers with arrows, for [the Assassins] killed many people and fled through the city. Such is the custom of this group which had seized the secure places called T'un and T'anjak [in northern Iran] as well as the forests of Lebanon, taking the price of their blood from the prince whom they worshipped instead of God, and giving [the money] to their sons and women. They went wherever their prince sent them where they would masquerade in various garbs until they found the appropriate moment to strike, then they would kill whomever they pleased. Therefore all the princes and kings feared them and paid taxes to them. And they were extremely faithful in carrying out the commands of their prince [g227], doing whatever he said, even to the point of killing themselves. Thus they killed many grandees who did not pay them taxes, just as they killed this impious man.

19. Concerning the destruction of Sultan Jalal al-Din, and his removal from the world.

[191] After [Jalal al-Din] had done these evil deeds, he went to the city of Xlat' which is in the land of Bznunik'. This area was under the authority of Sultan Ashraf who fought with him, but [Jalal al-Din] triumphed. Residing there was the wife of the sultan, the daughter of Iwane, named T'amt'a whom we mentioned above. Jalal al-Din took her as his wife and went on to ruin many districts under the sway of the Sultan of Rum, named 'Ala al-Din. Then Sultan Ashraf and his brother Kamal who ruled Egypt and 'Ala al-Din called to their aid the Armenian forces from the land of Cilicia as well as the coastal Franks, and they came and did battle with the Khwarazmian Jalal al-Din. As soon as the two sides [g228] neared each other, they became frightened and did not dare to fight. But, calling upon God, the Armenian and Frankish Christians attacked them. They were few in number, less than a thousand. But with the power of Christ, they struck the enemy and put them to flight. When the Tachiks saw that, they too attacked and destroyed many until sunset. Then the sultans commanded their men not to pursue the fugitives, since they were coreligionists; and they ceased the pursuit. Now the sultans, because they were pious men, were not ungrateful [192] toward the Christian soldiers, since they knew that the Lord had caused their triumph through them.

Then they returned to their lands in great joy and as they passed through cities and districts, [people] came before them, receiving them with praise, dancing and clashing cymbals.

Now when 'Ala al-Din reached Caesarea of Cappadocia, the entire multitude of the city, including the Christians with their priests with crosses and bell-ringers, came a good day's [g229] journey out on the road before him. When the sultan approached, the Tachik multitude did not allow the Christians to go near to mingle in their adoration of him. Instead, they shoved them to the rear. But the Christians went up onto a hill opposite the army. When the sultan asked who those people were, and learned that they were Christians, he himself left his troops and went up among them alone, ordering them to worship aloud sounding their bells. And thus he entered the city with them, gave them gifts, and dispatched each to his place.

Now Sultan Jalal al-Din returned to the land of Aghbania, to the fruitful and fertile Mughan plain, in great disgrace. He encamped there and wanted to assemble an army. However, the T'at'ars who had expelled him from his country as a fugitive [193] pursued him and chased him as far as Amida where they ferociously struck his forces. The impious prince died in that very battle. But some say he went on foot as a fugitive and

that a man chanced upon him and recognized him as the one who had earlier slain one of his relations and so killed him to avenge his relative's blood. Thus the wicked one died wickedly [g230].

20. How the T'at'ars arose to pollute the entire world.

Our entire history and introductory section to this point leads up to [a description of] this people [the Mongols], about whom we shall now relate. It seems to me that even if many other [authors] narrate the same events, they will nonetheless all be found lacking, for the evils which afflicted all lands are more than can be related. For this is the end of time; and precursors have spoken about the Antichrist and the arrival of the sons of destruction. We too are frightened by the revelations of blessed men borne up by God, aided by the Holy Spirit in predicting the future, and especially the true command of our Savior and God which states: "I shall lift up nation against nation and kingdom against kingdom and this will be the beginning of their sufferings [Matthew 24, 7, 8]." Moreover, [194] our patriarch, Saint Nerses prophetically spoke about the destruction of Armenia by the Nation of Archers, destruction and ruin encompassing all lands, which we have witnessed with our own eyes. The circumstances of their rise are as follows:

In a distant land to the northeast [g231] (called in their barbarous language Qara-Qorum (Gharaghrum) by the borders of Qara-Khitai (Ghatiai, ?Cathay) there dwelled a barbarian multitude, an ignorant, countless horde called T'at'ars, who had for their king someone named Chingiz-Khan (Ch'angez ghan).

It happened before his death, while he was dying that [Chingiz-Khan] summoned all his troops and the three sons he had and said to the soldiers: "Behold, I am dying. Choose whichever one of my sons here that you please and elect him as your king in my stead. They replied: "Whomever you select we shall take as our king and serve loyally." Thereupon [Chingiz-Khan] said: "I shall tell you about the virtues and deeds of my three sons. My first-born son is Chaghatai (Ch'aghata). He is a martial man who loves war. But he is proud by nature, more than he should be. Now my second son is also triumphant in battle, but stingy. As for my youngest son, he has been gracious from his childhood, full of virtue, generous in gift-giving and, from the time of his birth, my glory and greatness has increased daily. Behold, I have told [195] you the entire truth. Prostrate yourselves in front of whichever of the three you choose" [g232].

They approached the youngest, whose name was Ogedei-Khan (Hok'ta) and bowed to the ground before him. His father placed the crown on his head and then died.

Now as soon as Ogedei assumed the royal authority, he mustered a force as countless as the sands of the sea, comprised of his own people called Mughal T'at'ars, Khazars, Huns, Ghatiats'ik' (?Qara-Khitai), Ankitans and many other barbarian peoples with their goods and armies, women, sons, and tents. He divided them into three detachments: one group he sent to the south, appointing as its chief director one of those men faithful and loyal to him; another detachment he sent to the west and north, his son with them; while the third front was sent to the northeast under the leadership of a nobleman named Chormaghun (Ch'armaghun), a wise and learned man, successful in warfare. Ogedei commanded them to ruin and devastate all the lands and kingdoms in the world, and not to return to him until they had encompassed all lands and subdued them under his dominion. As for Ogedei, he stayed there in that land eating and drinking and disporting himself with diversions and building without a care [g233].

[196] His forces went to various parts of the world, destroying lands and districts, terminating the rule of nations, taking the goods and properties and enslaving the young women and children. There were those [captives] they sent far away, to their own land to their king, the Khan, and there were those they seized to serve the needs of their own families.

As for the army sent via the east (whose chief was Chormaghun-*noyin*), it went against Sultan Jalal al-Din who ruled Khurasan and the districts around it, and expelled him and his forces, making him a fugitive as we explained earlier. Then, in succession, they ravaged all the lands of Iran, Atrpatakan and Dilm [Daylam], totally pillaging one after the other so that nothing would remain as an obstacle for them. They also captured large and beautiful cities such as Ray (Re) and Isfahan (Aspahan) which were filled with good things, then rebuilt them in their name. Thus they took all the lands through which they passed.

And then, with the whole mass of their families and goods, they arrived in the land of Aghbania/Aghuania, in the fruitful and fertile plain called Mughan, a place full of all kinds of [g234] important things: water, wood, fruit and prey. Pitching their tents, they encamped there, remaining the entire winter. [197] In springtime they spread out in various directions, looting and destroying, and again returned [to Mughan] and settled.

21. Concerning the destruction of the city of Gandzak.

This city was densely populated with Iranians and a small number of Christians. It was extremely inimical to Christ and His worship, insulting and cursing the Cross and the Church, scorning and deriding the priests and attendants. Therefore, when their limit of sin had filled up, the protest against their wickedness rose to the Lord. Earlier a sign of their [impending] destruction appeared, just as had happened above Jerusalem, before its destruction. For suddenly the ground tore asunder and black water gushed forth. An extremely large poplar tree (which they call *chandari*) which was close to the city was observed to turn around. At this apparition [g235] the entire city trembled. But then they saw that the tree was positioned as before. This happened two or three times; thereafter the tree fell over and stood no more. Then the wise men [of Gandzak] commenced examining the sign to learn what it meant. And when they learned that it was a foreshadowing of the city's destruction, they stopped abusing the crosses [198] which they had placed under the threshold of the city's gates. They had put them there for abuse so that all passersby would step on them.

Suddenly the T'at'ar army arrived and besieged Gandzak on all sides, battling it with numerous war machines. They struck the orchard which surrounded the city. They then demolished the city wall, using catapults on all sides. However, none of the enemy entered the city. They simply remained there fully armed for a week, guarding it.

Now once the inhabitants saw that the enemy had taken the city, some went inside their homes and burned the structures above them, so that nothing would fall into the enemies' hands. Others burned everything that fire could burn, but excepted themselves. When the enemy observed this they became furious and put everyone to the sword: man, woman, and child. And no one escaped them but for a small armed and fully prepared [g236] brigade which broke through one part of the wall at night and fled. Some few dregs were also spared and tortured to reveal where the treasures were kept. Then they killed some of them and took the rest captive. They then dug through the charred homes and removed whatever they found concealed there. They were occupied with this for many days. Then they departed.

[199] Next the T'at'ars circulated through all the districts around the city to dig up and hunt for goods and wares. They discovered many articles made of gold, silver, copper and iron, as well as various garments which had been hidden in cellars and subterranean chambers.

Thus the city [of Gandzak] remained desolate for four years. [The Mongols] then commanded that it be rebuilt, and a few people slowly assembled there and rebuilt it, except for the wall.

22. Concerning the destruction of the lands of Armenia and Georgia by that same army.

A few years after the destruction of Gandzak, this fanatical and wily army divided up by lot all the lands of Armenia, Georgia, and Aghbania/Aghuania, each chief according to his [g237] importance receiving cities, districts, lands and fortresses in order to take, demolish, and ruin them. Each [chief] went to his allotted area with his wives, sons and military equipment where they remained without a care, polluting and eating all the vegetation with their camels and livestock.

[200] At this time the Georgian kingdom was greatly weakened, for it was in the hands of a woman named Rusudan, daughter of Tamar, sister of Lasha, grandchild of Giorg, a lewd and lascivious woman, like Shamiram, headstrong toward all the men sent to her, sleeping with many but remaining barren. Rusudan excercised authority through the commanders Iwane and his son Awag, Shahnshah (son of Zak'are), Vahram and others. Because Iwane had died shortly before, they took and buried him in Pghndzahank' (which he had made into a Georgian monastery, taking it from the Armenians). Iwane's son excercised his father's authority. And since they were unable to withstand that great blizzard [of Mongols] which had come, they all betook themselves to fortresses, wherever they were able [g238].

[The Mongols] spread throughout the plains, mountains and valleys like a multitude of locusts or like torrential rains pouring down on the land. The land presented the picture of the most pitiful disasters and of mourning worthy of lamentation. For the land did not conceal those who tried to hide, nor did the rocks or forests conceal those who sought refuge in them, nor the most sturdily constructed fortresses, nor the ravines of the valleys. Instead, all who were hiding were ferreted out. Men's bravery deserted them, and the strong [201] hands of the bowmen weakened. They hid their weapons, those who had them, so that the enemy would not see them and mercilessly kill them. The voices of the enemy paralyzed them and the rustle of their quivers filled everyone with terror. Each man saw the hour of his death come before him and their hearts died within them. Children fled to their parents from fear of the sword, and their parents with them fell from fright before falling to the enemy.

One could see swords mercilessly cutting down men and women, youths and children, old men and old women, bishops, priests, deacons, and clerks. Suckling children were hurled against the rocks, beautiful virgins were raped and enslaved.

It was frightful to behold their appearance and their cruel lack of compassion; [the Mongols] pitied not a single mother's [g239] tears nor a single grey head, but went on punishing and killing as if enjoying themselves at a wedding or a drinking-bout.

The whole country filled up with the corpses of the dead yet there was no one to bury them. Tears appeared in the eyes of lovers but no one dared to weep, out of fear of the impious ones.

The country was draped in mourning and its magnificent [202] beauty was destroyed. Its worship was blocked and mass ceased to be offered at its altars, the singing of songs was no longer heard. The whole land was plunged into darkness and people preferred the night to the day. The country was drained of its inhabitants and foreigners moved about in it.

Goods and property were ravished, though their greedy nature could never be satisfied. Houses and rooms were searched and there was nothing left that they did not take. They moved about here and there like swift mountain goats and wrecked and tore things apart like wolves. Their horses did not tire at the pace, nor did [the Mongols] tire of amassing booty.

Thus severity was visited upon many peoples and tongues for the cup of the Lord's wrath poured down over the country in vengeance for our wicked deeds and for sinning before Him; and His just rage was kindled.

Therefore the entrance [of the Mongols] into [g240] every land was made easy. As soon as they had captured all lands, they gathered up all the animals (those which had fled and those which had not), the goods and property and multitude of slaves, which were out in open areas.

Thereafter they battled with all the fortresses and with [203] many cities, erecting diverse types of [siege] machinery, for they were very clever and capable. They took and tore down many fortresses and keeps. It was summertime and extremely hot, and provisions had not been gathered in, for [the Mongols] came upon them unexpectedly. Therefore men and beasts suffered from thirst and, willingly or unwillingly, fell into the hands of the enemy because of the danger facing them. And there were those they killed, and those they kept as slaves for their needs. They treated similarly the densely populated cities, encamping about them and besieging them.

23. The capture of the city of Shamk'or.

One of the nobles, named Molar-*noyin*, whose lot had fallen over those regions (while they moved from their abode in the Mughan plain) sent a small force of about a hundred [g241] men who came and encamped by the gates of the city of Shamk'or and blocked entrance to and exit from it.

Now at the time, this city was under the authority of Vahram and his son Aghbugha, who had previously taken it [204] from the Iranians. The residents of Shamk'or sent to Vahram and his son for them to come and aid them, saying: "They are few." But Vahram did not aid them nor did he let his son go who wanted to, telling the emissaries: "They are numerous." Moreover, he ordered the citizens not to fight them.

The foreigners' army increased daily until their commander, Molar, arrived and fought against the city. He filled the trench which surrounded the city walls with wood and stalks so that they might easily climb onto the walls. But the people hurled down fire at night and burned the filler. Now in the morning when Molar-*noyin* saw that, he ordered each of his soldiers to bring a load of soil and to throw it into the trench. When this was done, the area became level with the wall.

Then each soldier applied himself to that part of the city directly in front of him. And they took it, killed all the inhabitants, burned the buildings and took whatever they [g242] found there. They then fell upon other fortresses under Vahram's sway: Terunakan, Ergevank', Matsnaberd (which belonged [205] to Kiwrike Bagratuni, Aghsart'an's son), Gardman, and other regions, Ch'arenk'; while another chief, named Ghataghan-*noyin*, went to Getabak. Now Vahram who was then in Gardman secretly fled at night to wherever he was able. Meanwhile the army of foreigners battled with the fortresses. Those inside unwillingly provided the Mongols with horses, livestock, and whatever else they demanded. [The Mongols] placed taxes over them and left them in their name.

But those who took Shamk'or had come with all their bags and baggage to Tawush, Katsaret', Norberd, Gag and the surrounding areas. Placing these regions in great straits, they besieged them.

24. Concerning the capture of *vardapet* Vanakan and those with him.

At that time the great *vardapet* called Vanakan was dwelling in a cave he himself had hollowed out, near the top of a very high rock which stood opposite the village called Lorut, south of Tawush fortress. He had built a [g243] small church in that grotto and stayed there secretly once his first monastery (opposite Ergevank'

fortress) had been ruined by the raiding of Sultan Jalal al-Din. Here he [206] had gathered many books, for he was an extremely studious man and especially God-loving. Many people came to him and studied doctrine with him. When the people multiplied, he was obliged to descend from the cave, and he built a church and rooms at the base of the rock, remaining there.

As soon as the land was destroyed by the T'at'ars and Molar-*noyin* had come to their borders, the inhabitants of that village applied to Vanakan's cave. It became filled with men, women, and children. Then the T'at'ars came and besieged them in the cave, while those folk inside had neither provisions nor water. It was summertime and extremely hot and they were scorched by the sun, as if in a prison. The children were parched with thirst and close to death. From outside the enemies shouted. "Why do you want to die?" Come out to us, we shall give you overseers and leave you in your places." They repeated this a second and third time with pledges. Those who were in the cave fell before the [g244] *vardapet's* feet, entreating: "Go and save all of our lives descend to them and make friends with them." Now [Vanakan] replied: "For your sakes I will not preserve my own life if there is any possibility of [your] salvation. For Christ gave Himself up to death for us to save us from satan's [207] tyranny. Thus we are obliged to show the same concern for our brothers."

So *vardapet* Vanakan selected two priests from among them, one named Markos and the other Sost'enes, who later were ordained *vardapets* by him. We too were present there studying Scripture in those days. [Vanakan] descended to them. Molar-*noyin* stood across from the cave on a hill, with a parasol over his head because of the heat. They had blocked us off during the feast of the Transfiguration. As soon as they came near the commander, those leading them commanded them to bow to the ground three times (like camels when they sit), for such is their custom. When they came before him, he ordered them to bow to the east, to their Khan, their king. Molar-*noyin* then upbraided Vanakan, saying, "I have heard that you are a learned and venerable man, and your appearance reveals you as such," for he was a fine-looking composed man with a glorious beard and white hair. "When you heard the news of our coming to your borders, why did you [g245] not come before us in peaceful friendship, so that I could command that all that is yours be left unharmed, great and small?"

[208] The *vardapet* replied: "We knew not of your good intentions, but out of dread of you we were seized with fear and trepidation. We did not know your languages, and no one came from you to summon us. Now when you called, we came before you. We are neither soldiers nor lords of goods, but exiles and foreigners assembled from many lands for studying our religion. Behold we stand now before you. Do with us what you will, granting either life or death."

The prince then said to him: "Fear not". And he commanded them to sit before him. [Molar-*noyin*] asked him numerous questions about fortresses and about prince Vahram—where he was, for he thought that Vanakan was a worldly prince ruling the country. Once the *vardapet* had told what he knew and that he was not a worldly prince, [Molar-*noyin*] ordered him to bring down the people of the fortress fearlessly and he promised that each would be left in his place with his overseers, and that he would build villages and fields in his name [g246].

Then the priests who had gone with the *vardapet* called to us: "Come down at once, and bring what you have with you." [209] We descended, quaking, like lambs among the wolves, frightened, terrified, thinking we were about to die, each person in his mind repeating the confession of faith in the Holy Trinity; prior to leaving the cave we had communed in the revered Body and Blood of the Son of God.

The T'at'ars took us to a small fountain in the monastery and gave us water to drink, for we were very thirsty for three days. They then put us in some place of confinement and put the laymen in the portico of the church. They themselves stayed about guarding us during the night, for it was evening. The next morning they removed us to the head of the monastery, to an elevated spot, and searched to see who had anything they needed. As for what was in the cave, the vessels and vestments in the church, the furniture, silver crosses and

two gospels worked in silver, these things they gave to the *vardapet*, but later took from us. Then they selected [g247] from among us men who could go about with them. The rest they ordered taken to the monastery and to the village and left their overseers there so that no one else would search them. They ordered the *vardapet* to remain in the monastery.

[Vanakan's] brother's son, the priest Poghos, was ordered to come along with us, following Molar-*noyin*. But the blessed *vardapet* saved his nephew for he was a youth and he himself [210] came after [Molar-*noyin*] hoping that it might be possible to free us as well. And [Molar-*noyin*] made us travel around with him for many days, harassed and harried, on foot and even barefoot. The men appointed to guard us were Iranians, thirsty for Christian blood. They made our lives yet more difficult by all sorts of torments along the way, forcing us along so stringently, like horses on a raid. And if it happened that someone out of bodily weakness or lameness paused a little, they would mercilessly strike his skull and beat his body with sticks, so much so that we could not remove thorns from our feet or someone would attack. Nor could anyone drink water because of those forcing us on.

Upon encamping, they took and crammed us into narrow houses while they surrounded them and guarded, not letting anyone outside to perform his bodily functions [g248]. Instead, [the captives] relieved themselves in the houses, staying inside for many days. Therefore I cannot record all the discomforts which they forced us to endure. Nor did they let the *vardapet* stay with us, but entrusted him to others to guard carefully, far away.

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

Then they took me from my companions to serve their secretarial needs, writing and reading letters. During the [211] day they made me travel with them and in the evening they would bring us to the *vardapet*, with a pledge. Again they would come and take me either on foot or on an unsaddled, untrained pack animal; and they did this for many days.

When summer had passed and autumn came and [the Mongols] were close to departing from our familiar land into distant foreign ones, everybody risked their lives and gradually began to flee by night to wherever they could. In this way by Christ's grace, everyone was able to escape except for two priests who attempted to flee during the day and were unable to free themselves. The T'at'ars captured them and led them to the army and slew them before us to frighten and terrify us, for this is how they deal with all fugitives.

Then one day the marvellous *vardapet* said to me: "Kirakos" [g249]. And I said: "What do you command, *vardapet*?" He said: "My son, it is written 'Whenever you fall into adversity, forbear [Romans 12.12].' It is necessary for us to reflect the advice of Scripture in our own lives for we are no better than the saints of old, Daniel, Anania and Ezekiel, who were pious in their captivities until God visited them and glorified them in their slavery. Let [212] us also live by God's protection until He visits us, if He so desires." I replied: "Let us do as you order, holy father".

It happened one day that the very prince who had captured us came to where we were being kept. Seeing us, he turned aside to us, and we went before him. He said: "What do you need? Perhaps you are hungry? I shall give you horsemeat for food." For they indiscriminately ate all sorts of unclean animals including mice and all types of creeping things. The *vardapet* replied: "We do not eat horsemeat or your other foods. But if you wish to do good by us, let us go free to our home as you promised. For I am an old and sick man and I can serve you neither as a soldier nor as a pastor nor in any other way." The commander said to him: "When Ch'uch'u-Khan [g250] comes I shall think about this." Ch'uch'u-Khan was the overseer of his house and he had gone off looting with his troops. So we came before the commander two and three times, and his reply was always the same.

Finally the man returned from his travels and they summoned us to the prince's court. [Ch'uch'u-Khan] was sent to us with a translator and said: "Is it not as you [Christians] claim that to give things to the dead benefits the deceased [213] person's soul? Well now, if giving helps the dead, why will it not save the living? Give us what you have and purchase your souls and then go, sit in your home." The *vardapet* replied: "What we had were those things you already took—the crosses and the Gospels. Beyond that we have nothing." The man then said: "If you have nothing, then you cannot depart." The *vardapet* answered: "I tell you honestly that we have nothing, not even the price for a day's meal. But if you will, send us to one of the fortresses surrounding us and the Christians there will buy us."

They placed a heavy price on him, then reduced it, and sent him to the fortress known as Gag. [Vanakan] requested that our price also be paid with his, but [the Mongols] did not permit this, saying: "We need him to read and write letters. No matter what sum you offer, we will not give him up." And we parted from each other in tears. The *vardapet* said to me: "My son, I shall go and throw myself before the Holy Cross calling upon the name of Saint Sargis [g251] beseeching the Lord through him for you and for the other brothers held by the impious [Mongols] so that perhaps God in His compassion will free you." For there was at Gag a [214] wonder-working Cross which helped all those in difficulties, especially captives. The holy martyr Sargis

himself would appear to those who took refuge in it with all their hearts, and he would open prison doors, loosening the fetters and irons and physically lead them to their places. The fame of its miracles had spread throughout all peoples. They say that the Cross was erected by our *vardapet*, Saint Mesrop.

It transpired as the *vardapet* had said. They bought him for eighty *dahekans*. As soon as they had taken him, that same day, Molar said to us: "Do not be saddened at the departure of the great priest. We did not let you go with him because we need you. I shall honor you as one of my grandees. If you have a wife, I shall bring her to you. If not, I shall give you one of our women." And he immediately gave us a tent and two lads to wait on us, saying: "Tomorrow I shall give you a horse and make you happy. Stay loyal." And he left.

By the grace of God, it happened that we secretly fled and escaped that same night. We came to the place of our birth, to the monastery called Getik; it had been ruined by them, the buildings in it, burned. And we stopped there [g252].

25. Concerning the destruction of the city of Lorhe.

[215] Chaghatai, the commander of all the detachments of the pagans, heard about the fortification of the city of Lorhe and about the abundance of treasures in it, for located there were the home of prince Shahnshah and his treasury. [Chaghatai] took with him select weapons and many siege machines, and in full readiness he went and settled in around [Lorhe], besieging the city.

Prince Shahnshah took his wife and children, secretly went into the valley there and secured them in a cave. He gave superintendence of the city to his father-in-law[*'s sons*] but because they were weaklings, they spent their time eating and drinking and getting drunk, trusting in the strength of the city walls, and not in God.

The enemy arrived. They dug at the base of the walls and made them collapse, then settled around them and kept watch so that no one would flee. Now once the inhabitants of the city saw that [the Mongols] had taken the city, they began to crowd with fear and filled up the valley. When the enemy saw that, they started to enter the city and indiscriminately [216] cut down men, women, and children, taking their goods and belongings as booty. They discovered the treasures of prince Shahnshah which he had extorted and robbed from those he had subdued. [He had] constructed there a sturdy treasury which no one could see, since the mouth of the pit was so narrow that treasures could be cast in, but nothing could be removed [g253]. They killed Shahnshah's father-in-law[*'s sons*] and they did reconnaissance around all the fortresses in the district, taking many both by threats and by treachery. For the Lord gave them into their hands.

They did the same to other cities, to Dumanis, to Shamshoylte, to the capital Tiflis, taking everything as booty, destroying or enslaving, spreading their raiding expeditions everywhere with merciless attacks, ravishments and destruction. There was no one to resist them or offer war against them. Therefore fear was everywhere. The queen of the Georgians, Rusudan [1223-45], had fled to wherever she was able. So all the princes surrendered [to the Mongols].

26. How prince Awag fell into their hands.

When the great prince Awag, Iwane's son, saw the great [217] multitude of the enemy which had filled the entire land, he holed up in a strong fortress named Kayean. All the inhabitants of the district came and fortified themselves around the fortress. As soon as the army of the foreigners learned that prince Awag was

fortified there, one of their principals (named Itulata) took many troops and came and [g254] besieged the area around the fortress; the land filled with the troops of foreigners generally, since many people had fled [to Kayean] from all sides because of the fortification of the area.

They settled around all sides of the wall at the base of the fortress and sent messages to Awag to come out to them in obedient service and not to be afraid. Many times they sent to him, saying the same thing. Now [Awag], desirous of winning their favor, gave his daughter and many goods [to the Mongols], so that perhaps they would loosen the siege. But they took his gifts and demanded his presence even more insistently. Those around the fortress and those in it began to be troubled by thirst. So they gave over to the T'at'ars their horses and all their livestock so that they allow some of them to go and bring water for their animals. Undertaking their plan in a body of many men, they went to the [218] water source there. The T'at'ars blocked their path to the water. They killed no one but told them to lower down their families and to live among them. Unwillingly and in grief they brought down their families. They were given water to drink and were kept among the T'at'ars. The T'at'ars took the women they wanted and killed their men, leaving others with their husbands [g255].

As soon as Awag saw that the T'at'ars did not let off besieging or destroying them, he wanted to surrender to them so that perhaps things would be lighter for the people. So he sent Grigor called Tghay (one of the Xach'en *azats*, the overseer of his house) in advance of himself to go, meet and flatter their leader, Chormaghun, who had pitched his tent by the shores of Lake Geghark'unik' (Sewan). When the great *noyin* Chormaghun heard this he was delighted and immediately sent to Itulata who was besieging Kayean to quickly come to him and to stop harrying the inhabitants of the fortress and district. Itulata took Awag and quickly came to Chormaghun. When Chormaghun saw the prince he asked him: "Are you Awag?" The prince replied: "I am he." The great commander then asked: "Why did you not come quickly to me when I entered the borders of your land?" The prince responded: "While you [219] were far away and my father was living, he served you with many gifts. As soon as my father died, I served you according to my capability. And now that you have come to my land, lo, I have come before you. Do with me what you will." The commander said to Awag: "There is a proverb, 'I came to the window/skylight, you did not come. I came to the door, behold, you have come.'" And [Chormaghun] ordered that [Awag] sit lower than all the grandees who sat before him, and he ordered a great meal served in his honor [g256].

They brought large quantities of meat both from clean and from unclean animals, cut apart, ground, and cooked and also *kumiss* (*xmuz*) made from mare's milk, according to their custom. They brought this food in many bags, threw them before the guests, and they began to eat and drink. But Awag and those with him did not eat or drink. The commander asked him: "Why don't your eat and drink?" Awag replied: "Christians are not accustomed to eat this food and to drink this beverage, rather, they eat meat from clean animals which we have sacrificed, and they take wine to drink." So [Chormaghun] ordered that such be given to those who requested it. The next day [Chormaghun] seated [Awag] above many of the grandees and in this way, day by day, he honored the prince [220] yet more until he was even seated in the rank of the truly great lords. [Chormaghun] further ordered all of his troops not to fight with the fortresses and cities under [Awag's] domination. And great ease came about in his land, and many captives were freed because of him. [Chormaghun] gave him back all of his lands and more besides, and established indestructible friendship with him. Taking [Awag] and all his troops, [Chormaghun] marched against the city of Ani [g257].

27. How the Lord betrayed the city of Ani into the hands of the T'at'ars.

This city, Ani, was filled with a multitude of people and animals and surrounded by very strong walls. It had in it so many churches that among the oaths spoken one was: "By the thousand and one churches of Ani." It

was a city rich in all goods and because of this, arrogance resulting from satiety struck it; and that arrogance led to destruction, as has been the case from the beginning until the present. Chormaghun sent ambassadors to the inhabitants for them to obediently come out to him. Those who were the heads of the city did not dare respond to the message without asking prince Shahnshah, since the city was under his authority.

[221] But the city mob and the commoners (*rhamikk'*) killed [Chormaghun's] delegation. When the foreigners' troops learned of this, in rage they besieged Ani on all sides. They erected many catapults and, skillfully battling against the city, they took it [in 1236]. Some of the princes of the city surrendered to the enemy, thereby saving their lives. Many were called out of the city and promised that nothing evil would be done to them.

But as soon as these princes had emerged from the city and gone [to the Mongols] in all their multitude, the enemy divided them amongst themselves and put them to the sword, mercilessly cutting down one and all and sparing only a few women and children and some artisans whom they led into captivity. Then they entered the city, took all the goods and possessions, looted all the churches, ruined and destroyed the entire city and corrupted the glory of its beauty [g258].

It was a pitiful sight there. Dead parents and their children were heaped on top of one another, like a pile of rough stones, priests and deacons and officials of the church, old, young, children, adolescents, and many virgins dealt with as it says in the holy Gospel: "You shall be betrayed to hunger and slavery." The same prescription fell upon the inhabitants of Ani, for [their corpses were] scattered here [222] and there, fallen across the face of the plains; the land drank in the blood and fat of the wounded. Tender bodies, once washed with soap, lay blackened and swollen. Those who had not gone out of the city were led away barefoot into captivity; and those who had communed in the holy blood and body of the Son of God now ate unclean, sickening meat and drank foul mare's milk. Modest and prudent women were deflowered by wanton, lewd men; blessed virgins who had vowed to God to keep their bodies and souls pure were fouled by various prostitutions and corrupted with indignities. This was the end of the affair [g259].

28. Concerning the destruction of Kars.

This city, when it saw what the T'at'ars had done with the inhabitants of Ani, hastened to give the keys of the city to the enemy, with the hope that perhaps they might be spared. But [the Mongols], because they were anxious for booty and feared no one, did to them the same as they had done to Ani, namely, they ravished the goods, cut down the inhabitants, ruled the city, stripped it of its ornaments, and took its residents into captivity. They left a few dregs [in Kars] and [223] then departed. But later the troops of the sultan of Rum arrived and mercilessly, at sword point, led into slavery those who had escaped the T'at'ars, as is written in Scripture: "Fear, a pit, and lightning upon you, inhabitants of the land; for those who flee from fear fall into the pit, and those who emerge from the pit are struck by lightning," and those who survive that are bitten by a snake [Isaiah 24, 17-18]. This is how the residents of Kars were overthrown.

The same army also took the city of the blessed Mari (Surb Mari), which Shahnshah and Awag had taken from the Tachiks several years before. While [the residents] were still mending their wounds, suddenly a certain one of the nobles named Ghara Bahatur came upon them with many troops and quickly took the city, ravishing all that he found in it [g260].

When [the Mongols] had worked such deeds throughout the entire land, a command was given to the survivors who had outlived the sword and captivity for each to go to his own place, whether village or city and to build it in their name and to serve them. And the land began to be rebuilt gradually.

However, it is the custom of God to recall mercy in His anger, and He did so here, since "He dealt with us not according [224] to our sins, and repaid us not according to our impiety [Psalms 102, 10]." It was summertime when they raided us, and the harvest had not yet been reaped or gathered into the granaries. They came with camels and livestock and ate and trampled everything. Close to winter when [the Mongols] had left for the plain called Mughan in Aghbania/Aghuania (they spent the winter season there and in springtime spread throughout the land) the people there who had survived the sword were naked and without food and they fell upon the husks and ground them to fill their needs. Yet winter was not severely cold, as at other times [g261] but as mild as one would wish. Since they had no oxen to work the land and no seed to sow, when spring came, at the command of God the land blossomed forth of its own accord and was sufficient to fill the people's needs. Moreover, everywhere there was a plentitude of bread by which the refugees lived. Furthermore, the merciless Georgian people displayed much kindness and concern for the exiles reaching them. In this way, merciful God consoled the bereaved.

29. Concerning the sending of prince Awag to the Khan in the East.

After a short time had passed, [the Mongols] sent Awag [225] on a distant journey to the northeast, to their king called the Khan. For they did the same to all the grandees whom they wished to honor. They sent him to the king and, taking the ruler's order, implemented it, for they were extremely obedient to their king. The prince himself was happy to go, so that perhaps his situation and that of the country be eased somewhat. All offered prayers to God on his account [g262] so that He return [Awag] in peace, for he was of a good nature, and they also hoped that with his return they might profit a little.

Now [Awag] went before the great king, showed him letters from his own commanders, and recalled the reason for his coming, that he had come to him in service. Once the great king heard that, he received [Awag] with affection, gave him a T'at'ar bride and sent him to his own land. He also wrote to his commanders to give [Awag] his own lands and with his help to subdue all the rebels, as happened.

When he came to his land and the commanders implemented the orders of their king, the following men came [to the Mongols] in service: Shahnshah, son of Zak'are, prince Vahram and his son Aghbugha, Hasan called Jalal, prince of the Xach'en area, and many others. [The Mongols] gave to each one control over [226] his lands, and, for the time being, a pardon.

Then by taxation, coming and going, and military activities [the Mongols] began to place them in straits; but despite all this and more besides, though they harassed them, nevertheless they killed no one. After a few years had passed, prince Awag was harassed [by the Mongols] and he was unable to [g263] satisfy all of them. Not only were [the Mongols] not satiated by eating and drinking, but they also demanded horses and expensive clothing, for they were very fond of horses. Therefore they took all the horses from the land. No one dared to keep horses or donkeys openly, but did so in secret for the war tax, because wherever [the Mongols] discovered horses they ravished them. Moreover, wherever they found their brand (for all their own animals and all the ones they took were stamped with the brand of each commander, on any limb), even if the horses had been purchased [from the Mongols], whenever one of them discovered [such a branded horse] they took it and punished the people as thieves. Not only did the grandees do this, but the lesser soldiers too. This was done even more when the commander Chaghatai died. For the Mulhedk' [Assassins] killed him at night. As a result, there was a severe destruction of captives in the army. This [Chaghatai] was a friend of Awag. As soon as he died, many enemies arose against the prince.

[227] One day in Awag's home, one of the not very noble [Mongols] came to the tent where Awag was seated. Because Awag did not immediately arise before him, [the Mongol] beat him on the head with a switch

of horsehair which was in his hand [g264]. When the prince's servants saw this they were angered at the indignity suffered by their lord, the prince, and rose to strike the man. But the prince forbade them, even though he was angered. That man (whose name was Joj-Bugha) departed. Taking along other comrades, he wanted to kill the prince at night. When [Awag] learned about this, he escaped by a hairsbreadth and fled to the Georgian queen who was still in rebellion, having migrated to a fortified region of Georgia.

Such disorders increased because the great general who was the head of all of them, Chormaghun, had become deaf from a devil and wounds. However, the authority had not been removed from his house, since his wife and children, together with the officials of his house, held the authority. This is because the Khan had so ordered, [and that] should he die his bones were to circulate around with the troops, for he was a most successful and favored man.

When Awag fled, the grandees were saddened, blamed that man [Joj-Bugha] and sent ambassadors after the prince telling [228] him not to rebell against them, and swearing that nothing evil would be done to him. [The Mongols] gave his land to his brother Shahnshah, and they did this for greater faithfulness [g265]. Now Awag wrote a letter and sent it to the Khan saying: "I have not come out of your service, but have fled from murder. I obey your command."

While Awag delayed going and waited for the reply from the great king, [the Mongols] removed and examined all of his treasures which were hidden in the fortress. Once again, one after the other, they sent messages to Awag telling him to come to them, for they feared their king.

As soon as Awag came to the army, immediately the command arrived from the Khan to his troops, saying: "Let no one dare do any evil to Awag"; and he also sent gifts and a letter to Awag, telling him to go freely and not to fear. [The Mongols] honored him. They removed from the troops those men who had wanted to murder him. And they sent Awag and a certain commander named Tonghus-*agha* (who had come at the Khan's order to demand taxes from everyone) to the queen of the Georgians, Rusudan [telling her] to obediently submit to the Great King.

Those who went to her encouraged her to submit to the Great King and not to fear. Taking troops from her, they [229] returned to the emissaries with [a treaty containing] conditions [g266] of peace and friendship, that the queen would submit with her son (the young Dawit', the newly-enthroned king). And they did not break the oath.

30. Concerning the destruction which occurred in the Xach'en area, and about the pious prince Jalal.

We have set out briefly what the crazed troops called T'at'ars did throughout the country. Now we shall speak about the destruction of Xach'en and what [the Mongols] did there. For they had spread their raiding expeditions throughout all parts, even dividing the land up by lots. Now some of the chiefs reached [Xach'en] with a massive army and arms and all the army baggage. They enslaved and killed many who were out in open places. They also battled with fugitives and people in fortified places; some they lowered down by treachery, others, by force. There were those they killed and those they enslaved. But there were many who had fortified themselves into secure places, which were called "perches" because of their inaccessibility. Those finding refuge in them felt safe.

[230] However, because destruction comes from the Lord, [the Mongols] at an unexpected hour secretly arose and entered the fortifications. They put a multitude of people to the sword, while others they hurled off the cliffs. From the multitude fallen covering the earth a small river of blood flowed and coursed like water,

and no one was spared. Even after a long time the bones of the slain could be seen piled up like heaps of stones [g267].

[The Mongols] also came against the pious prince Hasan whom they call Jalal. He was the sister's son of the grandee princes Zak'are and Iwane, a pious and God-loving man, mild and meek, merciful, and a lover of the poor, striving in prayers and entreaties like one who lived in the desert. He performed matins and vespers unhindered, no matter where he might be, like a monk; and in memory of the Resurrection of our Savior, he spent Sunday without sleeping, in a standing vigil. He was very fond of the priests, a lover of knowledge, and a reader of the divine Gospels.

He also had a pious mother who, after the death of her husband Vaxt'ank (called Tankik), provided for her three sons Jalal, Zak'are and Iwane, and then went to the holy city of Jerusalem remaining there for many years practising great [231] asceticism. She astonished all who saw or heard about her. For she had spent all her possessions for the poor and needy (like Abgar's wife, Heghine) and she fed herself by her own embroidery work. She died there, and since God glorifies those who glorify Him, an arc-shaped light appeared over her grave to encourage others to do similar benevolent deeds [g268].

This wise prince [Hasan Jalal], as soon as he saw the attack of the infidels, secured the inhabitants of his land in the fortress which is called Xoxanaberd in Persian. When [the Mongols] arrived to besiege the fortress they saw that it was not possible to take it. So they called him to them amicably; and he wisely satisfied them. Later he himself went to them with many gifts. [The Mongols] honored him and gave him back his land and other lands besides and ordered him to come to them each year for military service, and to serve them loyally. Now he prudently arranged his land. Whatever it was possible for him to take for the needs of the [Mongol] travelers [*baskaqs*] who came to him he took, whether food or something else. He kept this himself, accumulated it and gave it to them when they came to him. [The Mongols] did not harry the land [by demanding provisions]; instead, they came to him. But in other lands, [the Mongols] did not do this; [232] rather, wherever they went they harassed the inhabitants.

31. Concerning the church [Hassan Jalal] built.

To the glory of God, Jalal constructed a beautifully adorned church with a heavenly dome where services were constantly being offered by this lamb of God, so that the sins of the land be removed. The church was built in the monastery called Gandzasar, opposite Xoxanaberd [g269], in the place of their cemetery. Many years of work went into its building,

Once it was completed a solemn preliminary ceremony was held to [begin to] consecrate it. Present were the *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania/Aghuania, lord Nerses with many bishops, the great *vardapet* Vanakan with many teachers, the holy *vardapets* of Xach'en, Grigoris and lord Eghia, relatives, both glorifiers of God (They passed to Christ and are buried in the cemetery of the glorious church at Xada. Grigoris died in 687 A.E. [1238] and Eghia in 698 A.E. [1249]). They blessed the church with many priests and it is said that the number of priests present reached seven hundred.

When the church was anointed, a great dinner was prepared and [Jalal] himself served the multitude with his own hands. [233] He gave abundant gifts to each according to his rank and sent the crowd on its way. This occurred in 689 A.E. [1240] on the day of the great Feast of the Transfiguration.

[Jalal's] wife Mamk'an built a marvellous portico in front of the church. She herself was given over to a life of virtue; she practised asceticism, fasting and praying and reading with enthusiasm, adhering to the precepts of the Lord day and night, according to Scripture [g270].

32. A brief description of the T'at'ars' appearance.

[Translator's note: for a scholarly commentary on this chapter see J.A. Boyle, "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols," *Central Asiatic Journal* 8(1968) pp. 199-214.]

We gladly leave a testament for the generations to come for we have hope of salvation from the difficulties of this world, which surround us. Therefore we shall briefly set forth for the inquisitive [an account of] what [the Mongols] looked like, and what their language was like.

They had a hellish and frightening appearance. They had no beards, although some of them had a few hairs above their lips or on their chins. They had narrow and quick-seeing eyes, high, shrill voices; they were hardy and long-lived.

[234] Whenever possible they ate and drank insatiably, but when it was not possible, they were temperate. They ate all sorts of animals both clean and unclean, and especially cherished horsemeat. This they would cut into pieces and cook or else roast it without salt; then they would cut it up into small pieces and sop it in salt water and eat it that way. Some eat on their knees, like camels, and some eat sitting. When eating, lords and servants share equally. To drink *kumiss* or wine, one of them first takes a great bowl in his hand and, taking from it with a small cup, sprinkles the liquid to the sky, then to the east, west, [g271] north and south. Then the sprinkler himself drinks some of it and offers it to the nobles. If someone brings them food or drink, first they make the bearer eat and drink of it, and then they themselves [will accept it] lest they be betrayed by some poison.

They take as many women as they want but they do not let prostitutes live among their women. However, wherever they chance upon foreign women, they copulate with them indiscriminately. [The Mongols] loathe theft so much that they torture to death anyone caught at it.

There is no religion or worship among them, but they [235] frequently call on the name of God in all matters. We do not know (nor do they) if this is to thank the God of Being or some other thing that they call god. However, usually they say that their king is a relative of God. God took heaven as his portion and gave earth to the Khan, for they say that Chingiz-Khan, the father of the [present] Khan was not born from the seed of man but that a light came from the unseen, entered through a skylight in the home, and announced to his mother: "Conceive and you will bear a son who will be ruler of the world." And they say that [Chingiz-Khan] was born from that.

This was related to us by prince Grigor, son of Marzpan [g272], brother of Aslanbek, Sargis and Amira of the Mamikonean family. [Grigor] himself heard it from one of their great nobles named Ghut'un-*noyin* one day while he was instructing small children.

When one of them dies or they kill him, they do as follows: some they take around with them for many days since [they believe that] a devil entered the body and would say frivolous things; and there were those that they burned. Others they buried in the ground in deep ditches, placing with the deceased his weapons and clothing, gold and [236] silver, whatever was his share. And if the deceased was one of the great ones, they place some of his servants and maids in the grave with him so that, they say, they will serve him. They also put the horse in since, they say, warfare there is fierce. If they want to remember the dead [with a memorial], they cut open the belly of a horse and pull out all the flesh without the bones. Then they burn the intestines and bones and sew up the skin of the horse as though its body were whole. Sharpening a great piece of wood, they pierce the horse's abdomen and draw it out of the mouth, and so erect it on a tree or in some elevated spot.

Their women are witches and divine everything. Without a command from the witches and sorcerers, they go on no journey; only if [the sorcerers] permit it. [The Mongolian] language is barbarous and [was] unknown to us. They call God *t'angri*; man, *ere*, *haran*; woman, *eme*, *ap'ji*; father, *ech'ka*; mother, *ak'a*; brother, *agha*; sister, *ak'achi*; head, *t'iron*; eyes, *nitun*; ears, *ch'ik'in*; beard, *saxal*; face, *yiwz*, *niur*; mouth, *aman*; tooth, *sxur*, *sidun*; bread, *ot'mak*; ox, *ok'ar*; cow, *unen*; sheep, *ghoyna*; lamb, *ghurghan*; goat, *iman*; horse, *mori*; donkey, *losa*; camel, *t'aman*; dog, *noxay*; wolf, *ch'ina*; [237] bear, *aytk'u*; fox, *honk'an*; rabbit, *t'ablghay*, *t'ulay*; chicken, *t'axea*; dove, *k'ok'uch'in*; eagle, *burk'ui-ghush*; water, *usun*; wine, *tarasun*; sea, *naur-tangez*; river, *morán-ulansu* [g274]; sword, *ioltu*; bow, *nemu*; arrow, *semu*; king, *melik'*; patron, *nuin* [*noyin*]; great patron, *ek'a nuin*; earth, *el*, *irkan*; sky, *gogay*; sun, *naran*; moon, *sara*; stars, *sargha*, *hutut*; light, *otur*; night, *soyni*; secretary *bit'ik'ch'i*; satan, *barhahur*, *elep*, and so on with similar barbarous names which were unfamiliar to us for many years, but now, unwillingly, are known to us. The venerable, foremost leaders [of the Mongols] are as follows: first there is the great head and commander of all the forces, Chormaghun-*noyin*, a judicious and just man. His colleagues are Israr-*noyin*, Ghut'un-*noyin*, Tut'un-*noyin*, and Chaghatai who was a general of the army killed by the Mulhedk' [Assassins]. They had many other leaders and countless troops [g275].

33. Concerning Rhaban of Syria.

Providential God Who wills life to all (through His love for mankind) made manifest among them [the Mongols], [238] a pious, God-loving man of Syrian nationality named Simeon or Rhaban-*at'a*. He was known as the father of the Khan, since in Syriac *rhaban* means *vardapet* [doctor of the Church], while in T'at'ar [Mongolian], *at'a* means father. As soon as he heard about the merciless killing of Christians occasioned by the T'at'ar troops, he approached the Khan and beseeched him for a letter to give to his troops, commanding them not to kill innocent men the way they were doing—men who had not warred against them—but instead to let them alone so that they might serve the king. With great pomp, the king sent Rhaban himself to his commanders with a written order that all obey his command.

When Rhaban arrived, many things became propitious for the Christians, and the killings and captivity ceased. Likewise he built churches in Tach'ik cities, where previously no one dared utter the name of Christ—even in Tabriz and Naxchawan which were yet more inimical to the Christians, so much so that Christians did not dare appear or walk about [g276] openly, to say nothing of constructing a church or erecting a cross.

Yet [Rhaban] erected cross and church, and the [239] sounding-board was heard day and night. Christians openly took their dead for burial with hooded crosses, Gospels and worship, as is the Christian custom, while those opposing them were put to death. No one dared come out against [Rhaban's] order. On the contrary the T'at'ar army revered him like their king and without him they neither planned nor did anything.

His merchants, [people] who had his *tamgha*, that is to say his insignia and letter, boldly circulated throughout the lands and no one dared approach those [merchants] who mentioned Rhaban's name. Instead all the T'at'ar commanders gave him gifts from their booty.

[Rhaban] was a man of pious conduct, also modest in eating and drinking. Once a day, during the evening, he ate a small amount of food. Thus God visited His people in exile with the care of this kind of man. He baptised many of the T'at'ars; and on account of his marvellous behavior and great honor, everyone was terrified by him [g277].

The events described happened here [in Greater Armenia] in 690 A.E. [1241]. At the same time, the kingdom of [240] the Armenians in Cilicia was under the rule of pious King Het'um. This was during the generalship of

his brother, the brave Smbat; during the reign of his father Kostandin as prince of princes; in the *kat'oghikosate* of the old and virtuous Kostandin, occupant of the throne of Saint Gregory in Hrhomkla; in the pontificate as archbishop of lord Barsegh, brother of King Het'um, whom they held as substitute on the holy throne of the *kat'oghikosate*; in the *kat'oghikosate* of the Aghbanians/Aghuans of the meek and humanitarian lord Nerses, who at this time resided in the monastery called Xamshi in the Miap'or district; in the pontificate as archbishop of his brother's son who had been ordained recently; during the tyranny of the T'at'ars over everyone; and when I was forty years old, more or less.

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

34. The destruction of T'eodupolis.

Now at the beginning of 691 A.E. [1242/43], an edict arrived from the Khan to his soldiers and commander in the East [g278] ordering them to set up as a replacement for Chormaghun (who had gone deaf) a certain commander Bach'u-ghurch'i [Baiju] to whom the leadership had fallen by lot, since they do [241] everything by means of sorcery.

As soon as [Baiju] assumed authority, he immediately mustered troops from all the peoples under his domination and went to [that part of] the land of the Armenians which was under the domination of the sultan of Rum. Having reached the Karin district he besieged T'eodupolis which is now called Karin city, and settled in around it. He sent ambassadors to the inhabitants, telling them to come out in obedience. But [the residents] did not want to [surrender] and instead sent the emissaries back with insults. Then they got up onto their walls and further insulted [the Mongols].

As soon as [the Mongols] saw that the people did not welcome peace, the chiefs divided the city wall on all sides in order to demolish it. Working swiftly, they erected many catapults, destroyed the wall, entered the city, and mercilessly put everyone to the sword. They ravished goods and property and set the city on fire. At that time the city was very densely populated, being filled not only with Christians and Tachiks, but everyone from the entire district had assembled there.

In the city were countless holy Gospels [belonging to] the [242] high and lowly. The foreigners took the expensive ones [g279] and sold them cheaply to the Christians in their army. [The Christian soldiers] happily took them and distributed them throughout their own districts, dividing them up among the churches and monasteries. May Christ reward the Christian princes Awag, Shahnshah, Aghbugha (Vahram's son), and Grigor Xach'enets'i (Dop'i's son) who was a pious man. For these princes and their troops bought out of captivity as many men, women, children, bishops, priests and deacons as was possible. Freeing all of them, they were allowed to go wherever they chose.

[The Mongols] not only destroyed the city of Karin, but many other districts under the domination of the sultan of Rum. Yet the sultan was unable to do anything since, trembling with fear of them, he had hidden himself; some even said that he had died. Now once the T'at'ar army had done this deed, in glee and with much booty, it returned to Aghbania/Aghuania, to their wintering place, to that fertile and fruitful plain called Mughan. And they spent the winter there [243] [g280].

35. Concerning the war which took place between the sultan and the T'at'ars.

While the T'at'ar army was securely settled throughout all the plains of Armenia and Aghbania, ambassadors arrived from the sultan [of Rum], Ghiyath al-Din [Kai Khusrau II, 1236-45 (Ghiat'adin)] bearing boastful and threatening words, as is the Tachik custom: "You consider that by destroying one city you have conquered me

and my power. Well, my cities are without limit and my troops are innumerable. So stay where you are and I shall come to battle against you." Greatly puffed up, [the ambassadors] said many similar things, including [the information that] "Next winter the sultan shall come to the Mughan plain with his women and soldiers to winter here."

When [the Mongols] heard this, in no way did they become aroused or boast [to the ambassadors]. Baiju-*noyin*, their head, merely replied: "You speak grandly; however, the victory will go to whomever God grants it."

Thus one after another ambassador arrived to make [the Mongols] hasten to war, though they did not hurry in any way; rather, they peacefully gathered their troops and those under [g281] their domination, and came to a lush place in the land of Armenia with all their bags and baggage in order to fatten their horses. Then they tranquilly approached the camp of the sultan. The latter had left his accustomed place and had come to that part of Armenia which was under his domination, [244] [to an area near Erzinjan], close to a village named Ch'man-katuk [Kose Dag]. He came with a countless multitude, with women and concubines, gold and silver and all the valuable possessions he had. For diversion, he also brought along wild animals and many other creeping things, even mice and cats, for he wanted to show himself as fearless to the troops.

General Baiju, consistent with his deep [military] knowledge, divided his soldiers into many groups, putting them under the foremost brave commanders, while the foreign troops, comprising various nationalities, were divided up among [the loyal troops] so that they not work any treachery. Then selecting the valiant and brave from all of them, he made a vanguard which went and battled with the sultan's troops and put them to flight. The sultan himself fled, escaping [g282] by a hairsbreadth and leaving his throne and belongings there. [The Mongols] pursued the fugitive troops and mercilessly cut them down, putting them to the sword; then they turned to loot the fallen.

As soon as the main body of the army arrived and saw that the sultan had fled and his army was beaten, they spread throughout the area raiding and looting. They pulled apart [245] many districts and gathered gold and silver and expensive garments, as well as camels, horses, donkeys and countless animals. They came and besieged the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Because the inhabitants did not surrender, they took it forcibly and put the population to the sword, ravishing whatever was in the city and leaving it deserted. Then they came to Sebastia, and since the inhabitants of the city had surrendered in advance (coming out to them with gifts and presents) the people were not punished, although part of the city was looted. Conquering the city in their own name, they set up overseers and left.

They came and besieged Eznka (Erzinjan) and fought numerous battles for it. The inhabitants of the city dealt many blows to the T'at'ar army. Then [the Mongols] started to treacherously call the people out of the city on the pretext [g283] of friendship; and since the inhabitants had no aid from any quarter, they agreed to come. [The Mongols] fell upon them and cut them down, man and woman, sparing only a few lads and girls whom they took into captivity and slavery.

Thus after destroying and enslaving many districts and lands, they came to the city called Divrigi (Tiwrrike/Tephrike). Once the inhabitants knew that it was impossible to resist them [246] militarily they wished to surrender. [The Mongols] took many goods from them, but left the city unharmed, while they themselves returned with much booty and in high spirits to their winter camps in Armenia and Aghbania/Aghuania, since the wrecking and destruction of all peoples had come from the Lord. The Christians among their troops freed many people from captivity, both openly and in secret, priests and clerics. This was especially true of the grandee princes Awag, Shahnshah, Vahram and his son Aghbugha, the Xach'ents'is Hasan Jalal and his forces and relatives Grigor, Jalal's mother's sister's son, Dop'i, and other princes and their troops [who freed as many] as they were able. This occurred in 692 A.E. [1243].

36. Concerning the Armenian king Het'um and what he did.

Once this [battle] had occurred, when Het'um (king of Cilicia and other states) saw [g284] that the sultan had been defeated by [the Mongols] he sent ambassadors and valuable gifts to them to make peace and to place himself in submission. Through the intercession of prince Jalal, those who came to the great court were presented to Baiju-*noyin*, to Elt'ina *khatun* (Chormaghun's wife) and to the other grandee nobles. When [the Mongols] heard the king's message and saw the gifts [247] they asked him to hand over to them the mother, wife and daughter of the sultan, who had fled to him for refuge.

When King Het'um heard this, he was deeply saddened and said: "It would have been better for me had they asked for my own son Lewon than for those others." However, since he was afraid [of the Mongols] and so that a refusal would not occasion any great harm, he reluctantly handed them over with many presents besides to those who had come to take them. [The sultan's relatives] were taken and exhibited to Baiju and to the other chiefs. As soon as [the Mongols] saw them, they were happy and greatly honored the ambassadors of the king, establishing stipends and horses for them during the winter, so that when spring came they could return to their own land. Thus friendship was established with the king. They gave him a written ordinance according to their religion which they call *el-tamgha* [g285].

And so [the Mongols] waited until springtime when, once more, they went against the sultan and his land.

37. Concerning the prince of Lambron, Kostand, and what he did in the land of Cilicia.

During King Lewon's lifetime there was an extremely impregnable fortress in his land, called Lambron. The prince [248] who ruled that fortress, named Het'um, rebelled against [the king]. Although [Lewon] tried many times to subdue the rebel he could not. So, after some treachery he tricked [Het'um] into a marriage alliance whereby [Lewon] gave his brother's daughter in marriage to [Het'um's] son Oshin. [Lewon] seized him and his sons and tortured them until they gave the fortress to him. Having taken [Lambron] he established his mother the queen of queens there and wrote edicts saying: "Hereafter this fortress shall not be given to any prince, but shall remain royal property, since its lords have always been rebellious because of its fastness."

When Lewon died and his daughter Zapel was ruling, the prince of princes Kostandin, having united with *kat'oghikos* Yovhannes [g286] and other princes, enthroned his own son Het'um, a youth, and sent him as a husband to Zapel in place of the son of the prince who had been seized and put in jail. [Kostandin] likewise wished to have as an ally his father-in-law Het'um's son (named Kostandin like himself). He gave him Lambron as private property and made him his son's coronant. But after a while this man rebelled against his sister's son, King Het'um, as was their ancestral custom. Although Kostandin, the king's father, as well as the king himself greatly strove to bring the rebel to accept submission [249] he would not, for he had received help from the sultan of Rum, and so remained in rebellion.

As soon as the sultan of Rum had fled the T'at'ars, the king took all the villages and fields of Lambron under his control with the exception of the rebel fortress. Then Kostandin sent ambassadors to the king to request reconciliation and to place his sons in the king's service while he himself stayed in the fortress. But the king did not agree to this. [Kostandin] sent envoys two or three times but neither the king nor his father would consent.

So Kostandin went to Konya (Konn) to the sultan of Rum who was then an enemy of the Cilician king since the latter had given the sultan's mother to the T'at'ars. He took [g287] the sultan's troops and came to Cilicia

unexpectedly while the king's soldiers were dispersed to their own dwellings. He entered the land, destroyed many *awans* and fields by fire, murder, and enslavement. He killed and plundered many Christians, occasioning such evil in the land because of a grudge.

Now when the king saw these evils, he assembled his soldiers and valiantly came against the enemy multitude, putting all of them to the sword. Only the rebel prince and [250] a few men with him were able to flee. In this way Kostandin was beaten by the king seven times, after which he entered his fortress and did not dare emerge.

38. The reign of Dawit'.

The resourceful and wily Nation of Archers had sent to Rusudan, queen of the Georgians, many times telling her to come to them or to give her young son, Dawit', to them with troops. But she did not do so, and instead sent a few soldiers to them with Iwane's son, Awag, who was in the T'at'ar army, saying: "Until the ambassador whom I sent to the Khan your king returns, I cannot come to you."

When [the Mongols] had defeated [Rusudan's] son-in-law the sultan of Rum, and had taken many of his cities, they sent prince Vahram as an envoy to him, bidding him to submit [g288]. When he came, he brought with him [Dawit'], the son of [the former] king of the Georgians, Giorgi Lasha (Rusudan's brother), whom she had treacherously sent to the sultan of Rum with her daughter to destroy him so that he would not bring harm to her realm. He had been imprisoned by the sultan.

[251] Vahram brought [Dawit'] and made the situation known to the T'at'ar forces, saying: "the son of our king was exiled and deprived of his kingdom." So [the Mongols] enthroned him in opposition to his aunt and ordered him anointed according to Christian custom. They ordered all of his father's princes to obey him and [ordered] him to reside in the city of Tiflis. Then the grandee princes who were obedient to the T'at'ars, namely Awag who was a general, Shahنشah, son of Zak'aria, Vahram and his son Aghbugha, took him to Mtsxit'a, summoned the *kat'oghikos* of the Georgians, and anointed him king. His name was Dawit'.

Now when [Dawit's] aunt Rusudan heard about this she fled to Abkhazia (Ap'xazet') and Suanet' with her son (the other Dawit') and sent ambassadors to the other T'at'ar commander Bat'u [of the Golden Horde], a relative of the Khan, who controlled the troops in Russia (Rhuzk'), Ossetia (Oset'k'), and Darband, since he stood [g289] after the Khan. She offered him her submission. [Bat'u] ordered her to reside in Tiflis, and the others did not oppose this since the [Great] Khan had died meanwhile.

[252]

39. Regarding the summoning of lord Nerses, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghbanians/Aghuans /Caucasian Albanians, to the Great Court.

While the T'at'ar army was encamped in winter quarters in the plains of Armenia and Aghbania, Rhaban the Syrian, whom we recalled above, heard about the *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania and informed Elt'ina *khatun* wife of Chormaghun (who held authority after [Chormaghun's] deafness) that "the head of the Christians in these parts officiates in secret and does not come to see us." They sent to [Nerses] saying: "Why is it that you alone

do not come to see us? Come at once, and should you not do so voluntarily, then we shall have you brought before us against your will, disgraced."

Now [Nerses] since he sat in the Miap'or district, in the monastery named Xamshi (which was under the authority of Awag) did not dare to go without asking [Awag], so that his departure not be taken ill. [Nerses] hid from [the Mongols] and told the church officials to explain that he was not at home, but had gone to Awag. And [the Mongols] sent to him two and three times with threats [ordering him] to come to them.

Then [Nerses] received a command from Awag and went to them in the Mughan plain, bearing gifts according to his means. [253] However, he did not encounter Rhaban there, for the latter had gone to Tabriz (Tawrezh). Therefore [Nerses] went [g290] to the Great Court and stood before Elt'ina *khatun*. She received him gladly and honored him with great respect, seating him above all the grandees who had assembled by her because of the wedding of her son Bora-*noyin*. For she had taken the daughter of a certain notable named Ghutun-*noyin* as a wife for her son; and she had given her own daughter as wife to another noble named Usuf-*noyin*. Therefore she said to the *kat'oghikos*: "You have come on a felicitous day." And [Nerses] wisely responded: "I chose this day of your joy, and then came."

Now [Elt'ina *khatun*] entrusted him and his officials to her brothers Sadeghagha and Gorgogh, who were Christians, newly-arrived from their land, while she might concern herself with the marriage that joyous day. [The brothers] took [Nerses] and greatly honored him.

When they were somewhat lightened of [other] concerns, they gave [Nerses] gifts and an *eltamgha* so that no one would harass him, and they gave him a Moghal T'at'ar guide who took him throughout his dioceses in the land of the Aghbanians/Aghuans [g291]. Because, for a long while neither [Nerses] nor his predecessors [254] had dared to circulate through their dioceses due to the bloodthirsty and bestial nation of Tachiks. Now [Nerses] passed throughout his diocese returning peacefully to his residence in Xamshi monastery.

40. Concerning their raiding in the Vaspurakan area and in many other districts.

At the beginning of the second year after the flight of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din, they went through the Bznunik' area to the city of Xlat'. They took it and gave it to T'amt'a (Awag's sister) who previously was ruler of the city, when she was married to Ashrap' Melik'. She subsequently had been captured by the Khwarzamanian sultan Jalal al-Din, then captured again by [the Mongols] and sent to the Khan, where she stayed for many years.

Rusudan, queen of the Georgians, sent prince Hamadola as an envoy to the Khan, and when he [was about to] return Hamadola requested T'amt'a from the Khan. He brought her with him with orders from the Khan that whatever had been hers while wife of Melik'Ashrap' be given back to her.

[255] They obeyed the commands of their king and gave to her Xlat' and the districts surrounding it. They themselves spread out raiding the areas of Syrian Mesopotamia, Amida, Edessa, Nisibis (Mtsbin) and the Shambi country and [g292] many districts besides in vain, for although no one opposed them with warfare, nonetheless, because of the summer heat, many of them were sun-struck. Men and horses died.

They went to their lodging places and passed the winter. And they gave an order concerning the [re]construction of the city of Karin, T'eodupolis. The dispersed and hidden [population] and those who had avoided captivity assembled, and the bishop of the city, lord Sargis, whom Zak'are's son prince Shahnshah brought, [also] went [there]. And they commenced to rebuild the ruined and devastated city.

41. Concerning the canonical orders of the *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, Kostandin.

When Kostandin, the virtuous *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, saw the ruin of Armenia and the sufferings which [the people] were bearing from taxation and from the T'at'ar army, he pondered [the problem] and realised that sin was the cause of it all; [256] for each person carefully meditated on evil [means] of achieving his will. For the order of marriage of the blessed law had ended and, like heathens, blood relations intermarried, and whoever so desired separated [from their spouse], and they took whomever they wanted. Nor was there concern for the propriety of fasts. They mingled with the heathens [g293] indiscriminately. Furthermore, what was the greatest wickedness of all, bishops were ordained for [payment of] silver, the gifts of God were sold to the unworthy. Minors and ignorant people, who could not speak coherently in the presence of men, were set up as intercessors between God and man; and unworthy priests (who kept prostitutes and patent whores) sat doing the work of priests. And there were many other evils committed by the great down to the small according to this [quotation], that "Priests and people alike have become crazed and there is no one to reprimand them."

For these reasons, [*kat'oghikos* Kostandin] hastened to write encyclical letters and universal canons. He sent with the letter the learned and brilliant *vardapet* Vardan, who, for reasons of prayer had gone to Jerusalem to worship the sites of the Holy Land. After visiting the holy places, he came to Cilicia to the Christ-crowned King Het'um and his brothers. He went to the *kat'oghikos* who rejoiced exceedingly at his [257] sight. The *kat'oghikos* kept [Vardan Arewelts'i] with him a long time, binding the latter to himself with affection, for he never wanted him to depart.

To accomplish his aims [of reform, the *kat'oghikos*] sent [Vardan] and his attendants and wrote to all the cities, venerable monasteries and glorious princes [of Greater Armenia] that they not ignore the prescribed rules which were for the salvation of their souls; and that because [the *kat'oghikos*] was an old man, they should accept the *vardapet* in his stead. This is what he wrote. [We omit the encyclical, which deals with doctrinal matters, and resume the translation in chapter 43.]

43. Canons of Kostandin, *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians.

...Vardan *vardapet* and those sent by the *kat'oghikos* with him came to the East and circulated through the districts of Armenia giving the canonical orders to all the bishops, monks and princes, and they demanded of all written approval of the prescribed rules. Because everyone had strayed from the Truth and was possessed by the disease of greed and the love of silver, the order seemed hard. However, no one dared to scorn it. On [258] the outside they honored it and gave a written document with oaths and anathemas to accept the order. [Accepting were]: the bishop of the city of Karin, Sargis; the other Sargis, bishop of Ani; the bishop of Kars, Yakob; the bishops of Bjni, Vanakan and Grigor; the bishop of Anberd, Mkrtich'; the bishop of Haghat, Hamazasp; and other bishops in various regions as well as the principal monasteries: Sanahin and Getik, and Haghatrsin, Kech'arhu, Hawuts' T'arh, Ayrivank', Yovhannavank', Saghmosavank', Horhomosi vank' and those around them. Likewise [accepting] were lord Nerses, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghbanians, bishop Yovhannes, called Tuets'i, the great and renowned *vardapet* Vanakan, the prince of princes Awag, and other princes [g310].

The wise *vardapet* Vardan took this document of approval and sent it to *kat'oghikos* Kostandin in Hrhomkla. Then he himself came to his place of solitude in the Kayean valley. This place was named St. Andrew (Andre)

and stood opposite the unassailable fortress of Kayean. He stopped there and instructed many who studied his doctrine.

At the coming of the second year, 696 A.E. [1247], the virtuous *kat'oghikos* Kostandin sent presents to the churches in the East, by means of his attendant T'eodos. [He sent] silken cloth of variegated colors, expensive cowls for the [259] honored monks for use in the blessed service. [Kostandin also sent] an encyclical so that [the church at] the tomb of the Apostle Thaddeus and the surrounding districts and cities be given to him as a diocese, and [he sent] much gold for the building of a portico which *vardapet* Yovsep' constructed after the devastation caused by the Turks and the Georgian raids, because for a long time the place was uninhabited and barren.

Yovsep' went to a T'at'ar commander named Anagurak-*noyin* whose summer quarters were close by the tomb of the blessed Apostle Thaddeus. By [Anagurak-*noyin's*] command, [Yovsep'] cleaned the church and held the opening ceremony, built a monastery, and assembled many clerics in it [g311].

The T'at'ar man enlarged the roads on all sides [so that] all pilgrims come amongst his troops without fear, He strictly commanded that no one wishing to come be harassed, and he humbled himself to them with love. And many of them came and baptized their sons and daughters, and many who were possessed by devils and were sick became healed, and the name of our Lord Jesus Christ was glorified. Furthermore the entire T'at'ar army was not inimical to [260] the Cross and the Church. Instead, they greatly revered them and offered gifts; there was no hostility among them.

44. Regarding the tax collectors who came from the Khan.

As soon as Guyuk-Khan [1246-48] took control of the great kingdom of the T'at'ar army in their own land, he forthwith sent out tax collectors to his troops in the various regions and lands which they had subdued, to take one tenth of all the property of the troops as well as taxes from the districts and kingdoms conquered by them: from the Iranians, Tachiks, Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Aghbanians/Aghuans and from all peoples under them. The chiefs of the tax collectors were severe and rapacious men. One was named Arghun and was the leader of all the rest [g312], while the other [chief] was Bugha who was yet more wicked than that [other] Bugha who came against Armenia in the days of Jap'r the Ishmaelite and who ruined many lands. Similarly this [Mongol] Bugha came to the T'at'ar troops, entered the homes of the nobles, and pitilessly took whatever pleased him. Yet no one dared say anything to him, for he had assembled brigands from among the Iranians and Tachiks who mercilessly performed deeds of cruelty and were [261] especially inimical toward the Christians.

Therefore they provoked him against the pious prince Hasan, called Jalal. [Bugha] seized him in the great court before all the nobles and subjected him to numerous punishments. He demolished [Hasan's] inaccessible fortresses: the one called Xoyaxana in Persian, Ded, Tsiranak'ar and his other fortresses. And they so levelled them that not even a trace appeared that anything had ever been built there. Taking much gold and silver from [Hasan] they barely spared his life. The grandee nobility could do nothing to help him, so terrified were all the spectators.

[Bugha] similarly wanted to seize Awag, the prince of princes and [to subject him] to tortures and flogging. But the grandee nobility notified him [saying]: "Fear not; but [g313] assemble all of your forces and go thus to see [Bugha]. Should he try to seize you, then you seize him." Acting on this advice, [Awag] went to him with many soldiers.

When Bugha saw this, he became frightened and said to him: "What is that multitude of soldiers for? Could it

be that you are rebelling from the Khan and have come to kill us?" Awag replied: "Why have you assembled a multitude of [262] evil-doing Iranians to come to treacherously seize us?" As soon as Bugha realized that his treachery was manifest [to Awag], he spoke to him of peace, but in his mind he was ever planning evil against him and awaited an appropriate moment to execute his wicked intention. While [Bugha] thus plotted evil the righteous judgement of God overtook him. Suddenly wounds appeared on his throat and the wicked one suffocated, dying wickedly. This is how the impious man died. And may he not see the glory of God.

45. Regarding the Georgian kings' journey to the Khan.

The kingdom of Georgia, which a short time before had been wealthy, was at this time weakened. It had entered into the yoke of servitude to the T'at'ar army in the East whose leader, after the death of Chormaghun, was Baiju-*noyin* [g314].

In this period the monarch of the Georgians was a woman named Rusudan who had concealed and fortified herself in the impregnable areas of Suanet'ia. Envoys came to her from the two sides of the T'at'ar military—from the great general [of the Golden Horde] named Bat'u who was in the [263] northern regions, a close relative of the Khan, [a man] who ruled over everyone such that not even the Khan sat on his throne without [Bat'u's] order; and [emissaries] from the other general named Baiju who was in the Armenian areas. [Both emissaries told Rusudan] to come to them in peace and friendship and to rule her lordship by their command.

But since [Rusudan] was a beautiful woman, she did not dare go to either one of them for fear of being violated. Instead, enthroning her little son Dawit', she sent him to general Bat'u.

Now when the chiefs who were with Baiju-*noyin* in the Eastern regions (who had seized all the lands of the Armenians) and the princes of the Georgian realm with them saw that the queen had not come to them but instead had sent her son to Bat'u, they were displeased. They sent to the sultan of Rum, Ghiyath al-Din, and had brought thence Rusudan's brother's son, son of the [former] king of the Georgians, Lasha Giorg, whom Rusudan [previously] had sent [to Rum] with her daughter, [g315] the wife of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din. [Ghiyath al-Din] had placed Rusudan's nephew into confinement, so that there [264] would be no plot against his mother-in-law over the kingdom.

They retrieved him and gave him his father's realm and sent him to their king, the Khan, to confirm him in his rule. Then they themselves urgently sent envoys one after the other to queen Rusudan [telling her] to come to them willingly or unwillingly. Similarly Bat'u sent her [other] son to the Khan and himself summoned Rusudan to go to him.

[Rusudan] thus harassed on two sides took poison by her own will and departed this life. She wrote a will addressed to Awag and entrusted to him her son, should he return from the Khan.

And [the two Davids] went to Guyuk-Khan who received them with love. He legislated that they should rule the kingdom by turns—first Dawit' son of Lasha Giorg, the elder of the two; then, following his death, his father's sister's son, the other Dawit', son of Rusudan, should he still be alive. The treasury of the kingdom was divided into three parts. [The Mongols received] the venerable and priceless throne and the marvellous crown (the likes of which no other kings possessed and which, they say, belonged to Xosrov, father of Trdat the Great, king of the Armenians). [This crown] had remained there secretly due to the fortification of the place, had [265] [subsequently] fallen to the kings of the Georgians and remained there until recent times. This [crown] and [g316] other valuable goods from the treasury were sent to the Khan, while the remainder was divided between themselves. When [the two] returned [to Georgia] this is what they did, with the

mediation of Awag, Iwane's son.

And Dawit', son of Lasha, reigned in the city of Tiflis while the other Dawit' sat in Suanet'ia.

46. Concerning the journey to the Khan undertaken by Smbat, general of Armenia, and the son of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din.

Het'um, king of the Armenians, who reigned in Cilicia, sent his brother general Smbat to the Khan with noteworthy gifts. [Smbat] peacefully traversed the length of the journey and was greatly honored by [the Khan]. [Smbat] returned with great glory and faithful written commands giving him numerous districts and many fortresses which previously had belonged to King Lewon but after his death had been [266] taken from them by the Sultan of Rum, 'Ala al-Din.

Sultan Ghiyath al-Din died and left two young sons. Because there was strife between them, one went to the Khan and received from him his father's authority. [This son] returned with Smbat, the general of the Armenians [g317]. They came to Baiju-*noyin* and the other nobles who confirmed the order of their king, and provided troops to accompany them to the country of their rule.

As soon as they reached the city called Erznka, they heard that the brother of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din had formed marriage ties with [the family of] Lascaris (Leshkare), emperor of the Byzantines who ruled at Ephesus and, with the latter's aid, had become sultan in Konya (Konn). Meanwhile his own young brother sat on the traditional throne in Alaya. Therefore he feared to go there. Instead, he halted at Erznka to see what would happen.

And general Smbat entered his country [and went] to his brother, King Het'um.

47. Concerning the destruction wrought by the T'at'ars in Georgia.

[267] While the land was recovering a little from the raids and plunderings stirred up by the earth-consuming fire, [then] people took refuge in this [circumstance], more so than in God. The princes deprived and robbed the poor, and from this extortion they bought expensive clothing and they dressed, ate, drank, and boasted greatly, as is [g318] the arrogant custom of the Georgians. God made them fall from their lofty elevation and recognize the measure of their weakness, those who were not taught by the past. Satan aroused them, satan in whom they had placed their hopes. Suddenly all the nobility of the T'at'ar army held a council, armed, and wanted to universally ravage the lands of the Armenians and the Georgians, lands obedient to them. For the king of the Georgians with all the princes wanted to rebel. [They] were recruiting to come and destroy, since it was apparent that all the princes were going for a levee to the king of the Georgians, Dawit', in Tiflis.

While [the princes] were drinking wine, their spirits rose and foolish men among them said: "Having such a multitude of troops, why do we serve [the Mongols]? Come, let us fall upon them suddenly, destroy and exterminate them, and we shall have our own lands."

[268] The great prince Awag intercepted this plot. The T'at'ar army happening to be in the place was informed about it and the army notified its chiefs.

When the princes' troops had returned to their own places, [the Mongols] wanted to destroy everyone

generally, They arrested the princes who happened to be with them, and sent summonses to those who were not there for them to come quickly.

Now merciful God did not let the matter go to the end. This is how He stopped it [g319].

One of the senior leaders, general of the entire army named Chaghatai, who was Awag's friend, came amidst the armed troops and said to them: "We have no order from the Khan to kill those who are obedient to us, stand in service to us, and pay taxes to the Khan. Furthermore, the details of their rebellion is not certain. But if we destroy them without cause, you will be responsible to the Khan." Hearing this, they ceased pursuing the matter.

The mother of Awag, named Xoshak', went to them to assure them of her son's loyalty and that he would soon be [269] arriving—which in fact happened, since prince Awag quickly came up and demonstrated his loyalty to them with many testimonies.

King Dawit' and the other princes arrived. [The Mongols] bound all of them tightly hand and foot with thin cords, according to their custom. They left them bound thus for three days, ridiculing and insulting them for their arrogance and rebellious plans. Then taking all [the rebels'] horses and ransoms, they let them go. [The Mongols] then attacked the Georgian areas falling upon many districts, those which [g320] had rebelled and those which had not. They killed many people and took even more captive. A countless multitude of men, women and children they drowned in the river. This occurred in 698 of the Armenian Era [1249].

After this the prince of princes Awag died and was buried in the mausoleum of his father Iwane, at Pghndzahank'. They gave his authority to Zak'are, son of Shahnshah, his father's brother's son, for Awag had no [legitimate] sons, but only a baby daughter and a son from some illicit liason, about whom (after his death) they said that [the child] was from him... [The text is damaged here.] which his sister took and raised. Subsequently, [270] [the authority] was taken from Zak'are and given to Awag's wife who was named Gonts'a.

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

48. Concerning Dawit' the Deceiver.

The end of the world is nigh, and therefore the precursors of the Antichrist have multiplied, as the Bible first said: "Close to the end of the world, false christs and false prophets will arise, displaying great signs and wonders, so as to lead astray, if possible, even the elect" [Matthew 23, 24].

Now in 699 A.E. [1250] this is what happened. It was noised about that within the borders of [the district of] Xach'en hail had fallen, and mixed with the hail many fish the size of figs fell to the ground. We did not see this [g321] with our own eyes, but there were many to confirm that they were eyewitnesses. Yet another such event they relate resembles a fable. [They say that] on the shores of the Gegham Sea [Lake Sewan] there is an *awan* named Kot'. In its borders, in a village close to the mountain they found a gigantic man, dead and half-buried, wearing new clothes and new shoes; and by his head was a hole, as though he had been [271] punctured by a spike. On [the wound] was a small amount of cotton. When they removed the cotton, blood gushed from him and when they replaced the cotton, the blood stopped. Even if they put on a new cotton, not his own, the blood would flow until they replaced the old cotton. Many people were gossiping about this, but whether it is true or false, we do not know.

But this [next event] definitely took place. That same year [1250] a certain deceiver arose named Dawit', motivated by the demonic spirit, like the deceivers Judas and Theudas.

There is a village named Tsar by the Sea of Geghark'unik' [Lake Sewan] in the Xach'en area, close by Handaberd fortress where Jermuk is. In Tsar was this man of the poor and indigent, who worked their watermill and fed himself, his wife and children in this way.

One night, Satan appeared to him in the form of light [g322] and dared to say: "I am Christ and I have come to take you to preach my message. I shall send to you people who will come from all over in need of healing. Boldly put your hand upon them. Take the beam from the olive-press in your village, make a cross of it and erect it at the doors of the church." [272] And [Satan] taught him all kinds of other wily tricks.

So [Dawit'] began to sermonize, saying: "Christ appeared to me and said 'Turn world, and perform healing'". Others went to him and started to sing his praises and to call him Dawit' *Miaynakeats'* (the Cenobite) and *Sk'anch'elagorts* (the Wonder-Worker). By force they took the beam from the oil-press of his house, fashioned a lofty cross from it and erected the cross at the door of the church. They sacrificed bulls to it, and to all the pilgrims who came from all parts they gave portions of the bulls' meat and bones and they also gave shavings of the cross and "holy wafers" made of grains of millet which were in the watermill. For the same Satan who encouraged [Dawit'], stirred all the districts to go to the celebrity there—men, women, little children, as well as even priests, *azats* and all the sick and afflicted.

At first, faking, [Dawit'] took nothing from them. Like unto the Antichrist, this is how he preached: "Who am I but a poor and sinful man? Yet Christ had commanded me to preach. Fast on Monday, do not swear, and come, kiss me and your sins shall be forgiven as shall the sins of your people till the seventh generation" [g323].

[273] When someone possessed by a devil came to him, [Dawit'] seized a thick club and struck mercilessly; he trampled on [the afflicted person's] throat and cried: "Out, dog, out, dog! Dawit' *Miaynakeats'* commands you!" And he would say to the afflicted one: "Behold, fear no more. You are healed." Then the demoniac would depart, having the same evil in him, only multiplied. Yet wherever the afflicted person would go when people would inquire [about Dawit'], he dared not say "I was not healed," for [Dawit'] had enjoined that if they said this, they would be possessed by the *dew* immediately. Although the man dared not say "I was not healed," from his very deeds it was clear that he was continually posssssed. Those who previously had suffered pain for periods of months and weeks, after going [to Dawit'] were tormented every day. To the consumed and wasted who went to him, he said: "Come before me and dance!" And they did so with joy, since these kinds of *dews* like to play and dance. Dawit' said: "Come, kiss me and my wife. Depart and fear no more." To lepers he said: "By the command of God there is no cure for this illness. But I forgive you your sins since you came to me." As for the bent and hunched, he ordered four men to hold them, two at the head and two at the feet. And then [Dawit'] would say: "Stretch and twist them." Then the men stretched them [274] violently and all the joints in their bodies cracked. And the man they held would scream "Vay!" from the severity of the pain. Then Dawit' would trample on his shoulders and muscles and the afflicted one would cease breathing, like a dead man, or would in fact die. [Dawit'] would say about those who [g324] died: "His hour had come. It was not possible for him to live. It is a blessing that he died, for he will suffer no more." And of those who survived, half-dead, but were not healed he said: "They did not have complete faith in us, therefore they were not cured." Regarding the demoniacs on whose throats he trampled and who died, he would say: "This person died long ago and I have just now removed the *dew* which caused him to move about." To the blind he said: "Would you rather that I open your eyes or forgive your sins? For I know that your time is short and that you will die soon." Then [the blind person] would say: "If that's how it is, it's better for me if you forgive my sins." And [Dawit'] would say to him: "I forgive your sins."

In this way he captivated everyone's minds until there was such a multitude gathered by him that the area could not accomodate the people. Now since it was summertime, the [275] multitude went into the meadows and onto the mountains where they slept and worked all sorts of wickedness. For women who never would have dared to commit adultery and prostitution in their own homes because of their husbands, parents, and children, now, going on pilgrimage, copulated openly with whomever they wished. The men too worked this same evil with whomever they desired. The people went [g325] with many gifts: gold, silver, bulls and sheep. Those [pilgrims] who went and came back treated with scorn those who had not gone and drew back from them as if from sinners and people worthless in their sight.

Furthermore, by reason of the goods and their own greed, even priests came and adhered to him, waiting in attendance on him, washing his feet and sprinkling the water on themselves and on the assembled multitude.

As for the Deceiver, he hypocritically took nothing from anyone although he did take from the hands of the priests and his servants. The lord of the village, who was an Iranian, took a portion of the goods for himself, because an exceedingly large number of pilgrims brought things and gave them gladly. Should any *vardapet* or priest prevent or impede their going [to Dawit'], the people cursed and slandered them, implying that they were [276] jealous and malicious men and saying: "They cannot perform his deeds and do not wish for the benevolence of that saint."

Then the great *vardapet* Vanakan who was living in the monastery of Xoranashat (opposite Erdevank' fortress) wrote a document of scolding and rebuke, saying: "Why do you consider the appearance of the devil to be Christ, oh Christians? For Satan is accustomed to take the form of a luminous angel." And [Vanakan] excommunicated those who had eaten of that [g326] abominable meat or who had kept the wood shavings or millet. He placed on them as penance observation of a forty-day fast and five hundred genuflexions, after which they would become worthy of the blessed Mystery. We too wrote rebukes and anathemas and sent them to many places. Lord Hamazasp, the bishop of Haghat, did likewise.

Lord Grigores, the bishop of Dadi monastery [Dadevank'] and *vardapet* Vardan, called the Joyous Son, came

to that village with many priests, crosses, and gospels since [the village] was in their diocese. And they held an evening service, setting in their midst that duplicitous man [Dawit'] so that perchance the impure spirit would quit him. When they asked: "What do you see?" He replied: "When I fall on my face upon [277] the ground, the *dew* appears from the earth and speaks with me."

Then the bishop and priests wanted to destroy the cross which the heretic had erected. But the entire mob [of Dawit's followers] arose with swords and clubs and wanted to kill [the clerics]. They escaped the mob and cursed the brazen ones with severe oaths. But then some of them repented and went beseeching the bishop and priests to free them from the bonds of the curses. And people handed over the man to them.

Now while they were taking [Dawit'], the group chanced upon people from Garhni who were coming from the great court. [Dawit'] beseeched them to request him from the bishop since, he said, he was their relation and from Garhni. For he had [g327] previously told the people: "I am from the Arsacid line and it is necessary that one of my sons be king and the other *kat'oghikos*, and it is fitting that the vision of Saint Sahak be fulfilled on them." So the bishop gave him over to them, demanding an oath that he would no more lead people astray. Thus, finally, the wickedness disappeared.

49. Concerning the *dew* in the form of a woman which copulated with a certain man.

This was related to us by *vardapet* Yovsep' (who built the monastery at the tomb of the blessed Apostle Thaddeus in Artaz district, after it was ruined and abandoned). [He said]: "I had gone to see to some business in the district of Goght'n. [The people there] told me that in a village here there is a man who has a *dew* for a wife. Not believing them, we went to the man's house and did not see the *dew*. When we asked the man he verified the matter, saying: "I had a wife and she died, leaving me little children. And I sat weeping [wondering] who would nourish them for me. And suddenly there appeared to me a woman who said: 'Weep not, for I shall be your wife and nourish your children' [g328]. Thereafter she was ever in my house, making our food and filling all of our needs. And I am strongly struck with love for her, and she always sleeps with me. Every Saturday she does not work, and on Thursday she consumes three liters of yoghurt (? *manats*)." When I asked: "Where is she now?" He pointed with his finger and said: "There she is. She appears to me and to my children but to no one else. It has been a long time that we have lived together."

And I arose, praying and reading the Gospel, that perchance the sin-loving and impure spirit would be driven out. But, [279] as the man related, she ignored this and sat laughing. Not seeing her, we arose and departed.

50. Regarding the problem which arose among Christians concerning the Holy Spirit of God, whether it should be said to originate solely from the Father, or from the Father and the Son.

This problem was raised among Christians by the Latins, for the Pope of Rome wrote to the great *kat'oghikos* of Armenia lord Kostand (who at that time sat in Hrhomkla since the throne of Saint Gregory was there from the time of Grigor and Nerses, two blessed brothers of the Arsacid line, learned men and avengers of the laws of God). [The Pope asked] [g329]: "How do you confess the most Holy Spirit of God? Does it spring from and appear only from the Father or from the Father and the Son, for this is how the Latins confess it, from the Father and the Son." They also wrote to the king of Armenia, Het'um, and demanded a reply.

They assembled all the learned men of their country in the city of Sis in Cilicia: Armenian, Greek, Syrian and other [280] Christian peoples located there. The Greeks said "only from the Father" and some of the Syrians, said it otherwise. Now the Armenian assembly wrote to the East, to Greater Armenia to the learned *vardapet* Vanakan, since at the time he was venerable, and to *vardapet* Vardan, to Yovsep' and others to see what they would say and then to make a reply to the Latins.

They examined the Bible, the writings of the Apostles and the prophets and holy doctors of the Church who had cleansed the Church of heretics. They followed [using] the expression of two [natures], as the Latin confession. All the books of the Bible are full of such expressions. [There follow several lengthy sections on doctrine, which we omit. This includes chapter 51. (Confession of the Faith) and chapter 52. (Vanakan *Vardapet's* Advice on Dogma), as well as the remainder of chapter 50.]

53. Concerning the death of the blessed *vardapet* Vanakan.

The great *vardapet* Vanakan who was pleasing to God, passed to the Lord after reaching old age, in goodness, with white hair and full of years, like the patriarch Abraham. He completed his life holding to the confession of orthodoxy [g344] in the Holy Trinity and the dispensation of Christ. From his boyhood he occupied himself with holy service and displayed [281] much labor and effort in doctrine, directing many sons to glory. He occupied himself with manifold asceticisms and, killing his corporeal limbs, according to the advice of the Apostle, he crucified his body with need and longing. For this man of God was like a bee with fine wings, flying over many different flower gardens, collecting from them the useful and beneficial for his needs and food and for the healing of kings and commoners. Similarly he undertook to collect the lives and virtues of all the saints, making this honeycomb for his own and others' needs. For he had received the justice of Abel, the beauty of Seth, the hope of Enos, the faith of Enoch, the perfection of Noah, the faith and work of Abraham, the obedience of Isaac, Israel's ability to see God, the sound judgement of Joseph, the patience of Job, the meekness of Moses, the zeal of Phineas, the holy chastity of Jese, the [g345] clear-minded innocence of Samuel, the humility of soul of David, the wisdom of Solomon, the bravery of Jeremiah the avenging nature of Elijah and the compassion of Jeremiah. Like Daniel and Ezekiel, he went into slavery among the people of God, like Zorababel and Joshua he was a renovator of the temple of God, like Ptolemy he collected many writings from different peoples and languages. Like John [the Baptist] he lived in the desert and preached repentance by the Lord's command, possessing knowledge of the Old and New Testaments. Like Peter he professed the Lord, son of God and was the head of the Church. Among [282] the Sons of Thunder he wrote and thundered forth the spiritual. With Paul he disseminated to the whole world the Word of Life and confirmed it in writing. He appeared among the *vardapets* of the Church and chased away the wolves. He gave milk to the small; and to adults, substantial food.

Now he, who had his personality endowed with all these good things, who took others and instructed them in the same doctrine, passed to the Lord, paying the debt of nature. And his death happened as follows.

In the monastery (which he himself had built) named Xoranashat because of the numerous churches there (which is located opposite Ergevank' fortress and by the side of Gardman) he made a venerable structure, creating a portico out [g346] of polished stone at the door of the very church he himself had built. And he taught doctrine to those who gathered by him from all districts.

During the days of Lent he became ill, with an illness which in fact caused his death. Before his holy soul was consigned to the hand of God, he called the brothers and consoled them with sweet and agreeable words. He implored them to remain firm in order, in orthodox faith and pious. And then with a sweet breath his clean soul was freed from the fetters [283] of the body on the tenth of the month of Areg, according to the new

[calendrical] system on March 18th, according to the Roman [calendar] two days before the beginning of spring, on Saturday, the day of the remembrance for the venerable Cyril, patriarch of Jerusalem (who arranged the passages which are read [in Church], who wrote the book entitled *The Call* and the martyrdom of saint Orend and his six brothers, who were martyred by the impious Maximian). [Vanakan] was a follower of their ways and thus he was worthy of [dying on the day of their] remembrance.

A countless multitude assembled at his burial, and with great sorrow and grief they lamented exceedingly, for they were deprived of the venerable one's luminous doctrine and salutary [g347] words. They took and buried him at the head of the monastery on the eastern side, close to the smaller church where the graves of the poor were located, for [Vanakan] himself had so ordered.

Lord Sargis, bishop of the district, was there with many *vardapets* and priests. Also lord Nerses, *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania/Aghuania went and the bishop lord Yovhannes, one day after the burial. [There was] lamenting and heavy weeping over his grave and [there was] comforting of the monks there, [after which] each [284] returned to his place.

The directorship of the monastery was taken by [Vanakan's] brother's son, the priest Poghos, while doctrinal teaching was taken over by *vardapet* Grigoris, Vanakan's student and relative.

And this occurred in the year 700 A. E. [1251]. Through his prayers may God grant peace to the whole world and to us a part in his resurrection and crowning.

54. Concerning Yovhannes Garhnets'i.

There was a virtuous man by the name of Yovhannes from the town of Garhni (where the edifice built on a high terrace by Trdat stands) belonging to the blessed congregation of Ayrivank'. [Yovhannes] was a man of wondrous behavior, a worker of the commands of God, obedient since childhood, made worthy of the honor of the priesthood; he was a celibate priest [g348]. From childhood he scorned all of this world, left his family and home, lived in a desert, liked to be alone and to converse with God undisturbed, giving himself up to manifold asceticisms, [285] fasting, praying, sleeping on the floor and with a tireless spirit, traveling from place to place illuminating those he chanced upon.

The power of healing was given to him, for by putting on his hand and by praying he cured many illnesses. They further requested from him a written protection for their persons [*i.e.*, a charm] and he always gave this to all who sought it. Not only did the Christians do this, but many of the non-believers as well. Thus he wrote the name of the Holy Trinity and profound words of prayer and then gave it to them; and they took it in faith and attached it to their persons.

Regarding [Yovhannes] many people have much to say, but especially our brother the wonderful *vardapet* Vardan, whose words are worthy of belief, since they were bound to each other in friendship. For we did not see him in person because of the distance, yet [Vardan] in consolation related to us things from his life especially saying that [Yovhannes] himself had said: "I went to the holy city of Jerusalem to worship in the Holy Land, and I stayed there some days, lodging in [the monastery of] Saint James [g349].

"One evening before the ringing of the bell which summons everyone to prayer, while I was praying in the blessed Church, [286] the *vardapet* who was the director of St. James called me and said, 'Come and hear the marvellous events which my youngest priest relates.' When I went to him he called the priest who had seen the wondrous vision and said: 'Now say what you related to me earlier so that he too may hear it.' And the priest began to speak, saying: 'Before your coming to the church, I was praying in the gallery of the holy

church and suddenly the picture of the archangel Gabriel (which is drawn opposite the picture of the most blessed Mother of God) began to speak and said, 'Rejoice and be glad, for the Lord is with you. Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.' Then all the pictures of the saints began to utter the same [phrase] for a long while: 'Rejoice and be glad, for the Lord is with you.'

"Astonished, I glorified God and examined the calendar, for that day was the 30th day of the month of Areg, the seventh of April, and the 15th of Nisan. That vision and the marvellous demonstrations testify to the correctness [of the date] of the Armenian [observance of the] feast. We say that the blessed Virgin received the glad tidings on the 30th of Areg, April 7th, and the 15th of Nisan, not as other peoples (especially the Greeks) thoughtlessly say, on the 25th of March" [g350].

The honest man related this in the firmness of orthodox faith.

[287] That holy man Yovhannes related something else of a similar nature: "I was," he said, "in the area of the Jordan River, praying where the Lord and St. John the Baptist had been. Three men, Tachiks by background, approached me and besought the seal of holy baptism. I postponed giving it until another day, so that they would be baptized by others, for I saw that they were rough men, and I judged them to be insincere.

"The eldest of them said to me: 'We are from the Iranian city of Zangi and Muslim by faith. We built a large and beautiful minaret and readied whatever was necessary for the opening celebration. I ascended to the top of the dome in order to give the worthless cry according to Tachik belief. And lo, I saw to the east that the earth was torn asunder and one spot was filled with unbounded light and a king, awesome and wondrous sat on a throne of glory and about him a luminous multitude who blessed him with inexpressible sounds. Coming to worship him were all the Christian peoples, each with the leaders of its faith, adorned in venerable glory; and as they worshipped him, he accepted their greetings. At last, another people came with much greater glory than those preceding, and their leaders were quite remarkable. When they approached and [288] worshipped the king, he arose from his throne before them and kissed them together with their leaders and honored them more than all the other peoples [g351].

'And while I was standing there awestruck, dumbfounded and amazed, my elder son here ascended [the minaret] to me and said: 'Why do you delay? All the people are waiting.' He too looked to the east and saw the same vision and was stunned. Now as we had delayed a very long while, the crowd became annoyed and my younger son here came and reproached us for our delay. But since the vision had vanished at his arrival we related to him the cause of our delay and the substance of the vision, and immediately we wished to preach from that height Christ as the true God and [to announce] ourselves as Christians. He stopped us, saying: 'Since this is the way things are, let us act wisely. If we now confess Christ, the mob of Tachiks will kill us and will say that as a result of our wrongful deeds we were killed by them, who knows? Instead, let us go and give them the food which we have prepared, and then let us go to the holy city of Jerusalem and there become complete Christians, and be baptized especially by those [g352] Christians whom you say that the king received with great joy and pointed out to you in the vision. They are the Armenian people who were the lot of Thaddeus, Bartholemew and Saint Gregory.'

[289] 'We listened to his words and descended to the people, not relating anything to anyone. We left all our property moveable and immoveable and came to Jerusalem. And we beseeched God to let us encounter that people who were glorified in the vision. God showed us you and we saw the same sign above you. Now we implore you, give us the seal of Christ and make us complete servants of your God.'

"And when I saw their joy and that the call had come from the Lord, I baptized them in the holy Jordan River in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit and I gave them communion in the honored Body and Blood of the Son of God. Greeting us, they arose from the city and went to the great city of Rome to see the tombs of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to the glory of Christ."

This same wonderful Yovhannes said that "There were forty men of Armenian nationality who went to the Sinai desert to the mountain where God appeared to Moses and gave him the stone tablets on which were written the Ten Commandments, to worship God and to see the holy places [g353].

"At the base of the mountain there was a Latin monastery maintaining a rigorous discipline, and it was there that they [290] lodged. Although they wanted to ascend the mountain, the residents of the monastery enjoined them, saying: 'Do not spend the night up there, for those who have done so have seen frightful horrors, and destruction has encompassed many of them.'

"But [the Armenians] ascended boldly, taking no food with them, and they stayed several days. The residents of the monastery were amazed, wondering what had happened since there was no other way up [than the one traversed] and they assumed that the Armenians had died there from the terrors.

"But [the Armenians], after completing their worship descended the mountain with glorious and wondrous visages. And there were forty two of them. The astonished residents of the monastery went before them with torches and lanterns and gave them refreshment with great honor. And they wondered greatly, since when the party had ascended the mountain there were forty men, and yet when they descended there were forty two, and they knew that no one else had gone up except for the forty.

"When they set the table the two additional glorious men [291] arose and cared for those at the table and would not permit any of the men from the monastery to serve them, saying: 'It is our custom to care for our brethren.'

"And as soon as they had eaten what was seemly, the two saluted the forty and disappeared. They were Moses and Elias. Seized with great awe the residents of the monastery [g354] honored the forty like angels and set them on their way with great honor."

The saint-loving Yovhannes narrated this speaking in the third person out of humility, so that no one knew that he himself was with them.

After this he traversed many districts and visited many cities and reached the city of Colonia. And many many Turks and Tachiks came to him and were baptized because of his wonderful conduct and the healings he performed.

But the Iranians were jealous of him and the prince of Colonia seized him and a priest, gathered dry wood, placed them in the midst of it and set the wood afire. The priest with him wept, and Yovhannes exhorted him to be brave, saying: "Fear not, God may rescue us from the fire, as He rescued the [292] Three Infants."

And while the flames rose higher, a young prince fell from the wall, yet arose unharmed. When they asked: "How is it that you are alive?" He replied: "That man whom you have thrown into the fire lifted me up in his arms and did not allow me to hit the ground." At once the prince sent and ordered that they be removed from the fire and permitted to go wherever they pleased.

[Yovhannes] passed through many districts and went to the great *kat'oghikos* of the Armenians, lord Kostandin, at Hrhomkla. The latter received [Yovhannes] joyfully with great honor and did not let him depart. [Yovhannes] remained there until he passed to Christ, and he was buried there. Having completed his life holding to his faith, he achieved the garland which never fades, and life everlasting. May his prayers support us and forgive our sins and may his memory be among all the saints in Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom glory forever [g355].

55. Regarding Sartakh (Sart'ax), son of Batu.

The great general Batu who was in the northern regions had taken his habitation by the shores of the Caspian Sea and [293] the great At'l [Volga] River which has no equal on earth, since it courses like a sea due to the flatness of the land. [Batu] situated himself in the great and wide plain of the Qipchaqs with countless troops under him. [The Mongols] dwelled in tents and when not living in tents, they went about in carts yoked up to many oxen and horses.

He became extremely strong and grew more powerful than all, made the world obedient to him and placed all lands in tribute. Furthermore his relations held him to be greater than anyone else, and their king, whom they call Khan, sat on his throne by [Batu's] command. For Guyuk-Khan had died and his clan debated as to who among them should be enthroned. They all deemed him worthy of sitting on the throne or of choosing who should be king.

They summoned him from the north to come to their land and rule over all. [Batu] went to firm up the kingdom, and left as the head of the troops his son, named Sartakh. He himself did not take the throne but seated there one of his relations named Mongke (Mangu). Then he returned to his troops [g356].

Now some of the relatives were dissatisfied with the affair since they had in mind either that they themselves be enthroned or else to have enthroned Guyuk-Khan's son, whose name was [294] Xocha-Khan. They dared not revel their dissatisfaction at the time, but when Batu had returned to his troops, they began to be rebellious toward Mongke-Khan and to agitate.

When Batu heard of this he ordered many relations killed including grandees among whom a certain great chief named Elch'i-Gada. The latter previously had been ordered by Guyuk-Khan to be general of the T'at'ar army in the east and the land of Armenia in place of Baiju. But while he was on the road in Iran, he received news of the death of Guyuk-Khan. And he stayed where he was to see who would take the throne of the kingdom.

The chiefs of the army in the East rebelled [from Elch'i-Gada] and came to Batu since they did not want the former to rule over them, as he was a conceited man. They said: "This man also has rebelled from Mongke-Khan." And [Batu] ordered that [Elch'i-Gada] be sent to him. He was seized and taken in fetters and wickedly killed [g357].

Then [many people] started coming [to Batu]: kings and royal offspring, princes and merchants, and all who were distressed, who had been deprived of their patrimonies. And [Batu] through just decisions gave to each who came to him his districts, patrimonies and principalities as well as written [295] documents. And no one dared to oppose what he had commanded.

[Batu] had a son named Sartakh whom we mentioned above. He was nourished by Christian tutors (*dayeaks*) and when he reached maturity, he believed in Christ and was baptized by the Syrians who had nourished him. He granted many liberties to the Church and to Christians and with the acquiescence of his father he wrote a decree of freedom for the priests and the Church and sent it everywhere threatening death to anyone collecting taxes either from the Church or its servitors, no matter what their nationality; [this also applied to] the Tachik mosques and their attendants.

Hence, taking courage, *vardapets*, bishops, and priests went to him and [Sartakh] received them all with affection and fulfilled their requests. He himself lived piously and religiously, taking a tent-church about on his travels and always performing the divine service.

Among those who went to him was Hasan, the great prince of Xach'en and the Artsakh region, whom they

endearingly called Jalal, a pious religious man and a modest Armenian by nationality. [Sartakh] received [Hasan] with affection and honor as well [g358] as those accompanying him: prince Grigor (customarily called Tghay) who was then an old man, prince Desum a modest lad, [296] *vardapet* Markos and bishop Grigor.

[Sartakh] took [Hasan] to his father [Batu] who honored him greatly and returned to him his patrimony, Ch'araberd, Akanay, and Karkarhn, which the Turks and Georgians previously had stripped from him. He also received a document guaranteeing freedom for lord Nerses, *kat'oghikos* of the Aghbanians/Aghuans, for all his properties and goods, that he be free and untaxed and freely travel everywhere in the diocese of his authority and that no one disobey what he said.

Jalal returned to his home joyously, but after some days being harassed by tax collectors and by Arghun, he went to Mongke-Khan.

And Mongke-Khan ruled in the year 700 A.E. [1251].

56. Concerning the locusts which devoured the land.

In 701 A.E. [1252] a severe plague of locusts came, so severe that in flight they created a shadow and the light of the sun was reduced. Coming from Iran, they devoured the land of the Armenians, not only the green plants, but the very [297] earth; and they even consumed dung. They entered homes from windows and doors, should they happen to be open [g359]. The land was thrown into terror and bread became dear. When wintertime came and snow fell on the ground, the locusts died, and the ground putrified from the smell. But on the arrival of spring in 702 A.E. [1253] the land blossomed forth with the offspring of the locusts in such density that the ground and rocks of the country were covered, and at evening they piled one atop the other mound-like and commenced eating plants and soil.

People thought about leaving their abodes and going to foreign lands wherever they might find food. But since all the surrounding districts from Spain to Asia to Iran to Mesopotamia had already been eaten through, people were in a quandary as to what to do. They then started to take refuge in the hand and powerful arm of the Almighty, which created life from nothing, and which always cares for them with His pity, for Whom the impossible is possible. With tears and vows they looked to Him to end the scourge in the land.

Now merciful God quickly gave ointment to a bad wound and "the same one who was stricken, him He healed." For there came multitudes of small spotted birds, usually called *tarm* (flock) because of their numbers. Ranging themselves on the edges, [298] they ate the whole multitude of locusts, to the point that not one could be found. Then one could see all mouths uttering praises of God and all minds were astonished. But this following tale about the birds is worthy of awe [g360].

They say that in the Iranian area, in a land called K'irman, there is a certain water. Those who go there put it into glass bottles and take it, without looking back. And they do not put the water on the earth, but instead tie the bottles to poles and shake them; and the birds perch there. As many birds as are desired come after this water, and so the birds came after the locusts. However, we believe the whole affair was due to the concern of God, that on account of the sins of the land He allowed the scourge to come and then out of His mercy healed [the land] as He saw fit and gave [this water] as medicine and ointment for the scourge of locusts [which caused] the gobbling up of the multitude of their young.

57. The census undertaken at the order of Mongke-Khan.

In 703 A.E. [1254] Mongke-Khan and the great general Batu sent an *ostikan* named Arghun, who [earlier] had been [g361] ordered by Guyuk-Khan to oversee the court taxes levied from [299] subjugated countries. There also was another chief from Batu's house named T'ora-*agha*, who was sent out with many others under their sway to make a census of all peoples subject to them.

They took this command and went throughout all the lands to complete the work. They also reached the lands of the Armenians, Georgians, Aghbanians/Aghuans and the districts surrounding them. They began recording everyone from age eleven up excepting the women. And they demanded the most severe taxes, more than a man could bear; and people became impoverished. They harassed the people with unbelievable beatings, torments and tortures. Those who hid were seized and killed. Those who were unable to pay the rate had their children taken to pay their debt, for they circulated about with Iranian Muslim attendants.

Furthermore the princes, lords of the districts, became their coworkers in harassing and demanding taxes for their own profit. Nor were they content with just this. Instead, all the artisans (*aruestagets*) whether in the cities or the villages were taxed. Furthermore fishermen of the seas and lakes, miners and blacksmiths and painters/plasterers [were taxed] [g362]. Is it necessary to explain in detail the level of profit which [300] they extracted from people? And they alone profited. They took all the salt mines, in Koghb and other areas.

They similarly profited greatly from the merchants and heaped up vast quantities of gold, silver, and precious stones. Thus everything became expensive and the lands became filled with lamentation and complaints. Then they left in charge of the lands wicked *ostikans* who demanded the same amount every year by list and in writing.

But one wealthy merchant was respected by them. He was Umek whom they called Asil, a benevolent man whom we sometimes recalled [above], who lived through the T'at'ars' destruction of the city of Karin together with his sons Yovhannes, Step'anos, and his brothers. At this time he was dwelling in the city of Tiflis and was called "father" of the king of the Georgians, Dawit'. He was honored by the Khan in writing and by all the [Mongol] nobility. He gave generous gifts to Arghun and those with him and was much esteemed by them.

However, [the tax collectors] took nothing from the clergy as they had no order from the Khan to do so. The sons of Sarawan, named Shnorhawor and Mkrtich', were also prosperous and wealthy [g363].

Kirakos Gandzakets'i's

History of the Armenians

58. Concerning the trip of the pious king of the Armenians, Het'um, to Batu and Mongke-Khan.

[Translator's note: For a scholarly commentary on this chapter see J. A. Boyle, "The Journey of Het'um I, King of Little Armenia, to the Court of the Great Khan Mongke," *Central Asiatic Journal* 9(1964) pp. 175-89.]

[301] The devout, Christ-loving king of the Armenians in the Cilicia area had his seat in the city of Sis. Previously he had sent his brother Smbat, who was his general, to Guyuk-Khan with presents and gifts and [Smbat] returned thence with honor and edicts of acceptance. Now when Mongke-Khan ruled, Batu the great "king's father" and general sent to King Het'um so that he would come to see him and Mongke-Khan. [Batu] dwelled in the northern regions with an incalculable multitude [of troops] under him by the shore of the great, fathomless river Et'il [Volga] which runs into the Caspian Sea. [Het'um] who feared the sultan of Rum whose name was 'Izz al-Din [Kaykaus II (Azadin), 1246-59] travelled [through Rum] secretly and in disguise since he feared the Turks who were his neighbors. Now [the Turks] had an inveterate hatred [for Het'um] for allying with the T'at'ars. [Het'um] speedily traversed ['Izz al-Din's] territory in twelve days and arrived at the city of Kars. He visited Baiju-*noyin*, the commander of the T'at'ar army in the East, as well as other grandees, and he was honored by them. Then he stayed in the village of Vardenis at the foot of mount Aragats, opposite [g364] [302] Aray mountain, in the home of a prince of Armenian nationality named K'urd. [This prince] was a Christian [and lived in the village with] his sons Vach'e and Hasan, and his wife Xorishah. [Xorishah] was of the Mamikonean line, a daughter of Marzban, and sister to Aslan-bek and Grigor. [Het'um] stayed there until goods from his house, useful presents and gifts were brought to him from his father, the prince of princes Kostand. At this time [Kostand] was old and had left his sons, Lewon and T'oros, as his substitute. His own pious queen [Zapel] already had passed to Christ. Zapel translates Elisabeth, the "seventh day of God," and her name suited her, for she was at rest in the will of God: benevolent, merciful and a lover of the poor. [Zapel] was the daughter of the great King Lewon, the first to wear the crown [in Cilician Armenia].

As soon as the great *kat'oghikos* Kostand learned that [Het'um] had travelled safely and now had stopped in Greater Armenia, he sent to him the great *vardapet* Yakob, a wise and learned man. [The *kat'oghikos*] previously had sent this same man to the Byzantine emperor John (who was ruling in Asia and who had grown strong) and to their patriarch to achieve friendship and unity. [Yakob] went there armed with the prudent words of Scripture and, in the Greek council of inquiry, repudiated the Byzantines who accused us of being Eutychians for saying [303] that there is one nature in Christ. [Yakob] [g365] rationally demonstrated through Scripture that the two [natures] are united in Christ, completely divine and completely human, two [natures] in ineffable unity, not losing divinity, not confusing the humanity, glorified in one nature working divinely and humanly. Similarly concerning [the hymn] Holy God (*Surb Astuats*) there are words which we say about the Son, according to the witness of the evangelist John. [Yakob] refuted theologically and on the testimony of Scripture other similar slanders which [the Greeks] had regarding our doctrine. He turned their minds toward friendship and unity with our people, and departed from them in honor. Lord Step'anos the bishop came [to Het'um]; *vardapet* Mxit'ar who was at Skewrha where he had travelled from the Eastern areas came as did the priest Barsegh who was an emissary to Batu. With him came the celibate priest T'oros as well as Karapet who was the king's court priest, a man of mild and scholarly manner; and many princes also came.

The king took all these men with him to the land of the Aghbanians/Aghuans and through the Darband gate (which is the Chora pass) [g366] to Batu and his son Sartakh who was a Christian. [Het'um] was honored by them with many privileges. Then they sent him to Mongke-Khan on a long journey on the other side of the [304] Caspian Sea.

Those who departed [from Batu] left on the sixth of the month of Marer, and on the thirteenth of May crossed the Ayex [Ural] river and came to Or which is midway between Batu and Mongke-Khan. Then crossing the Ert'ich [Irtysh] river they entered the Nayiman [Naiman] country. They came to Xaraxeta [Khara-Khita] and crossed into T'at'arstan on the fourth of the month of Horhi, the thirteenth of September on the celebration of the feast of the Cross, and they saw Mongke-Khan seated in venerable glory. [Het'um] gave the Khan gifts and was honored by him according to his dignity. He remained at the *urdo* for fifty days and [Mongke-Khan] gave him a noteworthy edict that no one dare harass him or his country. He also gave him a document proclaiming freedom for the Church everywhere.

[Het'um] left [Mongke-Khan] on the fiftieth day, on the twenty-third of the month of Sahmi, on November first. In thirty days [the party] reached Ghumsghur. And they came to Perpalex and Peshpalex and to the sandy country where [g367] there are naked wild men with hair on their heads only. The women there have very large and long breasts and the people are mute. In that land are found wild horses of black and yellow colors, and mules of white and black colors, larger than horses or [305] asses, as well as wild camels with two humps.

From there they came to Arhlex, to K'ulluk and Enkax, to Chanpalex, Xut'ap'ay and Ankipalex.

They then entered Turk'astan. Thence to Ekop'ruk, Dinkapalex and P'ulat. They crossed Sut-k'oln and K'atntsov (Milk Sea) and came to Alualex and Ilanpalex. Then they crossed the Ilansu river and over a branch of the Taurus mountains to Dalas and came to Hulegu, who was Mongke-Khan's brother, and who had taken the Eastern regions as his portion.

[The party] then turned from a westerly direction northward and reached Xut'uxch'i, Perk'ant', Sughulghan, Urosoghan [g368], K'ayik'ant', Xuzax (K'amots'), to Xndaxoyr and to Sghnax (Xarchux mountain) where the Saljuqs (Salch'uk'ik') are from; [Xarch'ux] begins at the Taurus mountain and goes as far as P'arch'in where it ends.

They travelled from there to Sartakh, the son of Batu, who was travelling to Mongke-Khan. Then [they went] to Sghnax and Sawran (which is extremely large) to Xarach'ux, Ason, Sawri, Ot'rar, Zurhnux, and Dizak and then after thirty days [came] to Samarqand, Sarhip'ul, K'rman and Bukhara. Then they crossed the great Jehun river [Amu-Darya; Oxus], and [306] arrived at Mrmen, Saraxs, and Tus which is opposite Khurasan (which is called Rhoghastan). They entered Mazandaran and [travelled] thence to Pstan, then to the land of Iraq which is in the borders of the Assassins (*mulhed*). Then [they travelled] to Tamgha and the great city of Ray (Rhe) and to Qazvin (Xzuin) to Awahr, to Zangian, to Miana, thence to Tabriz after twelve days. After twenty-six days they crossed the Erasx river to Sisian to the chief of the [g369] T'at'ar army, Baiju-*noyin*. Now [Baiju] sent [Het'um] to Xocha-*noyin*, a man he had left as his substitute as head of the forces. Meanwhile he himself took the chiefs of the army and went before Mongke-Khan's brother Hulegu, who was coming to the East.

The pious King Het'um came to the home of prince K'urd in Vardenis village where he had left his goods and baggage, and awaited the return of the priest Barsegh whom he had sent to Batu once more to show him the documents and orders of Mongke-Khan so that [Batu] also would write orders of the same sort.

Then there came to Het'um his *vardapets*: Yakob whom he had left [in Greater Armenia] for church work, and Mxit'ar (who had returned from Batu before [the latter] travelled to Mongke-Khan); and other bishops and *vardapets* and priests and Christian princes. [Het'um] received them all with affection for he was an

agreeable man, wise and literate. He gave gifts [307] as he could and sent them all off happy. He gave priestly garments to adorn the Church, for [Het'um] greatly loved mass and the Church. He received all the Christian peoples and [g370] beseeched them to deal with one another affectionately as brothers and members of Christ, as the Lord commanded: "By this you shall be recognized as my pupils, that you love one another [John 13, 35]."

[King Het'um] told us many marvellous and unknown things about the barbarian peoples, things he had seen and heard about. He said: "There is a land beyond Ghatayik' [Cathay, China] where women have the forms of natural women, while the men have the forms of dogs. They are mute, large, and hairy. The dogs let no one enter their land and the dogs hunt from which prey they and the women eat. From the comingling of dogs and women, the males are born in the shape of dogs, the females in the shape of women.

"There is, too, a sandy island where a type of bone (which is prized) grows like a tree. It is called Dzknatam (Fish Tooth) and when one is cut, another grows in its place, like horns.

"There is, too, a land of many idol-worshippers who [308] worship extremely large clay idols named Shakmonia [Shakiamuni] and say that he is god for 3040 years. Then another thirty-five *duman* years [elapse] (one *duman* being 10,000) after which [g371] [Shakiamuni] is removed from godship. Then there is another one named Madri [Matreya] of whom they also made a clay image of unbelievable size in a beautiful temple.

"An entire people, women and children included, are priests. They are called Toyink', and have their heads and beards shaven. They wear cloaks like Christian [priests] but [fastened] at the breast, not at the shoulder. They are moderate in eating and marriage. [Men] marry at twenty years of age and until age thirty approach their wives three times a week. From age thirty to age forty they approach them three times a month; from forty to fifty, three times a year; and after fifty, not at all."

The wise king related much else about the barbarian peoples which we omit, lest it seem extraneous to anyone.

Eight months after leaving Mongke-Khan, Het'um reached Armenia. This was in 704 A.E. [1255].

[309]

59. The destruction of the land of the Romans [Rum].

Now at the beginning of the year 705 of the Armenian Era [1256], Batu, the commander of the north, died while [g372] his son Sartakh was enroute to Mongke-Khan. [Sartakh] did not return home to bury his father but instead continued on his journey. Mongke-Khan was exceedingly happy at this and came before [Sartakh] honoring him with very great gifts and giving him his father's authority, to rule over all the troops as well as over all the subjects of his realm. [Mongke-Khan gave Sartakh the right] to be called his second, and [the right] to issue orders absolutely. Then he sent him home.

With [Sartakh] was the pious prince of Xach'en, Jalal, who had gone to reveal to his supreme lord the disasters he had endured from *ostikan* Arghun, from whom he had barely escaped death because of the provocation of the Tachiks, He gave him a document [entitling him] to rule his principality independently and to fear no one. For Sartakh liked [Jalal] on account of his Christianity, since he too was a Christian.

Sartakh arrived in his principality with venerable glory. But his Muslim relatives, Barak'a and Barkach'ay, gave [310] [Sartakh] poison and killed him. Then there was great sorrow among all the Christians. Even

Mongke-Khan mourned as did his brother Hulegu who ruled over all parts of the East.

However, before these events had occurred, the great general, the khan-like Hulegu, gave an order to all the T'at'ar troops in the East whose chief was Baiju-*noyin* that [g373] they leave the land of their residence and dominion, Mughan, and the lands of the Aghbanians/Aghuans, Armenians, and Georgians and go with all their bags and baggage to the land of the Romans [Rum] so that he [Hulegu] occupy their place in the good land. [Hulegu] had come with such a vast multitude that it was said one month was scarcely sufficient time for his troops to ford the great Jehun river [Amu-Darya]. Now some of his relatives from the area of Batu and Sartakh had crossed through the Darband Gate to this side with many, countless troops, great men, chiefs with authority, whose names were Balaxa, Tuthar, and Ghuli whom we even saw, grandsons of Chingiz-Khan whom they call the sons of God. They levelled and made easy [for travel] all the passes on the route they travelled, for they were coming by cart.

They brought many misfortunes to all lands through tax-collecting [311] and plundering, eating and drinking insatiably and bringing everyone to death's door. In addition to the numerous [taxes], the *mal* and *qubchur* (*xap'ch'ur*) [Translators's note: *mal* is believed to have been a tax on large animals with horns; *qubchur* was a tax on sheep.] which Arghun had levied, Hulegu commanded that the tax called *t'aghar* be collected from each individual listed in the royal register. From such they demanded one hundred *litrs* of grain, fifty *litrs* of wine, two *litrs* of rice and husks three sacks one *spitak* [silver coin], one arrow [g374], to say nothing of the bribes; and of twenty animals they demanded one, plus twenty *spitaks*. From those who could not pay they took their sons and daughters [as payment]. And thus they harassed and overturned the entire country.

Now the T'at'ar army, though it was angry at having to leave the land of its dominion, nevertheless did depart, reluctantly, out of dread [of Hulegu], for they feared him exceedingly, as though he were Khan. So they went to the land of the Romans. The sultan of Rum offered war against them, but was unable to resist. Instead he fled to the island of Alayia. [The Mongols] put to the sword districts of the sultan's realm to [312] the Ocean and Pontus, killing and ravishing. They destroyed the cities of Karin [Erzerum], Eznka [Erzinjan] Sewast [Sebastia], Caesarea and Konya and the surrounding districts. Then, sending their goods back to their lodgings at Hulegu's order, they spread out, raiding in various directions.

The king of the Armenians, Het'um, went along with them. He had come from Mongke-Khan, Batu, Sartakh and Hulegu and was with Baiju-*noyin* who sent [Het'um] with many soldiers to his country, Cilicia, to the city of Sis. [Het'um] had [g375] attended Baiju-*noyin* and the troops with him with numerous gifts and performed military service, so much so that a letter expressing satisfaction and praising him was written to Hulegu. Now the great Hulegu, since he was a military man, assembled the entire multitude of troops and went to the country of the Assassins (Mulheds), Alamut, and seized it. For royal troops had besieged it for many months, since the sons of 'Ala-al-Din [(Aladin) of Alamut] had slain their father and gone over to Hulegu. [Hulegu] commanded that all the secure fortresses in Alamut be pulled down. Then he ordered all his soldiers and everyone subject to them to assemble against the great city of the Tachik realm called Baghdad, which is located between Iran and Syria. For they had not yet taken it.

[313] The caliph who sat in Baghdad was of the line of Mahmet (for caliph means descendant), and all the Muslim sultans obeyed him, be they Turks, Kurds, Iranians, Elamites or other nationalities. [The caliph] was the chief commander of their dominions, and they submitted to him by treaty and honored him as a descendant and relative of their lawgiver, their first deceiver. To this fortress [g376] (*ghalan*) went the very greatest chiefs of Batu's [northern] region: Qul (Ghul), Balagha, Tuthar, Ghataghan, for everyone honored Hulegu like a khan; they obeyed him and they feared him.

60. The destruction of Baghdad.

In the year 707 of the Armenian Era [1258], Mongke-Khan, the great king of the kings of the earth, conqueror of the world, mustered a countless host and went to a distant land in the southeast against a people called the Nayngas. For this people had rebelled from him and did not pay him taxes like the other lands. The Nayngas were warlike men, fortified by their land; and they were idol-worshippers. Furthermore they devoured their old men and women. The whole clan of sons, grandsons and great grandsons would assemble [314] and would skin their aged parents through the mouth. They would remove the flesh and bones, cooking and eating them, leaving no leftovers. Out of the skin they make a bag which they fill with wine and from which all of them drink using the [deceased's] male member. However, only relatives do this, and none other, since they alone were sired [g377] by the deceased and it is theirs alone to eat and drink of him. The skull they encase in gold and drink from it for an entire year.

Mongke-Khan went against them in battle, crushed and forcibly subjugated them. But on the way home, death pangs gripped him and he died. His brother Arigh Boke (Arik' Bugha) seized the throne.

Now Hulegu (who was his brother and had been appointed head of the troops in the East by him) commanded all those subject to him to go against the Tachik capital, Baghdad, which was the seat of the Tachik dominion.

The king who sat in Baghdad was not called sultan or melik as the Turkish, Iranian or Kurdish autocrats customarily are, but caliph, that is, a descendant of Mahmet. The great Hulegu went against the caliph with a countless multitude [composed] of all the peoples subject to him. This [315] was done in the autumn and winter seasons because of the severe heat of that country [in the summer]. Prior to his departure [g378] he ordered Baiju-*noyin* and the troops with him in the land of [the sultan of] Rum to go and surround the great Tigris River on which the city of Baghdad was built, so that no one flee by boat from the city to Ctesiphon or to the more secure Basra. They immediately obeyed the command, tying pontoon bridges across the great river and sinking between [the surface of the] river and its bed sturdy fences with iron hooks and pipes so that no one depart the city swimming without them knowing about it.

Now Caliph Must'asar [translator's note: in fact, the last caliph was al-Musta'sim], who resided in the city proudly and presumptuously sent many troops against those guarding the river. [The caliph's men] were under the command of a chief named Dawdar [*davat-dar*, "vice-chancellor"], *ostikan* of his house. Dawdar went and first triumphed, killing some three thousand T'at'ars. When evening fell he sat eating and drinking without a care. And he sent messengers to Caliph Must'asar saying: "I defeated all of them, and tomorrow I will do away with the few survivors."

Now the crafty and ingenious T'at'ar army spent the entire [g379] night arming and organizing. They surrounded the Tachik army. [316] Among the T'at'ars was prince Zak'are, son of Shahnshah. At daybreak they put their swords to work, destroying the entire group and throwing them into the river. Only a few men escaped.

That same morning the great Hulegu surrounded the city of Baghdad, stationing everyone an arm's length from the wall [and telling them] to demolish it and guard well that none escape. He sent the valiant Prhosh [Xaghbakian] and others as emissaries to the caliph, so that he would come out obediently and pay taxes to the Khan. [The caliph] gave a stern reply full of insults, claiming to be lord of sea and land, and boasting about the [magical] banner of Mahmet, saying: "It is here and, if I touch it, you and the entire world will be destroyed. You are a dog, a Turk. Why should I pay taxes to you or obey you?"

However, Hulegu did not become aggravated because of the insults nor did he write any boasts. He merely said: "God knows what He does." Then he ordered the wall demolished; and they demolished it. He said to rebuild it again and guard it carefully. And they did so [g380].

[317] The city was full of soldiers and people. For seven days they stood on the walls but no one shot arrows

at them nor were swords used, either by the citizens or by the T'at'ar soldiers. But after seven days the citizens began to request peace and to come [to Hulegu] with affection and submission.

And Hulegu ordered that this be done [that peace be made]. Then countless multitudes came through the city gates, climbing over each other to see who would reach him first. [Hulegu] divided up among the soldiers those who came out and ordered [the soldiers] to take them far from the city and to kill them secretly so that the others would not know. They killed all of them.

Four days later Caliph Must'asar [i.e., al-Musta'sim] also emerged with his two sons, with all the grandees and much gold, silver, and precious stones as fitting gifts for Hulegu and his nobles. At first [Hulegu] honored him, reproaching him for dallying and not coming to him quickly. But then he asked the caliph: "What are you, God or man?" And the caliph responded: "I am a man, and the servant of God." Hulegu asked: "Well, did God tell you to insult me and to call me a dog and not to give food and drink to God's dog? Now in hunger the dog of God shall devour you." And he [318] killed him with his own hands. "That," he said, "is an honor for you, because I killed you myself and did not give you to another for killing." He ordered his own son [g381] to slay one of the caliph's sons while he gave the other son as a sacrifice to the Tigris River, saying: "It did not harm us but was our collaborator in killing the senseless ones." And he said: "This man caused much blood to flow through pride. Let him go and answer to God and may we be innocent." He also killed other grandees.

[Hulegu] then ordered the troops guarding the walls to descend and kill the inhabitants of the city, great and small. [The Mongols] organized as though harvesting a field, and cut down countless, innumerable multitudes of men, women, and children. For forty days they did not stop. Then they grew weary and stopped killing. Their hands grew tired; they took the others for sale. They destroyed mercilessly.

However, Hulegu's wife, the senior Khatun, named Doquz Khatun (Toghuz *xat'un*) was a Christian. She spared the Christians of Baghdad, Nestorians and other denominations and beseeched her husband not to kill them. And he spared them with their goods and property.

[319] [Hulegu] ordered all his soldiers to take the goods and property of the city. They all loaded up with gold [g382], silver, precious stones, pearls, and costly garments, for it was an extremely rich city, unequalled on earth.

[Hulegu] himself took as his share the caliph's treasures—three thousand camel loads; and there was no counting the horses, mules and asses. Other houses, full of treasure, he sealed with his ring and left guards. For he was unable to take everything, since there was so much. Five hundred fifteen years had elapsed since that city was built by the Ishmaelite Jap'r in 194 A.E. [A.D. 745] on the Tigris River above Ctesiphon (Katisbon), about five day's journey above Babylon, and it had taken everything into its kingdom like an insatiable blood-sucker, swallowing up the entire world. It was destroyed in 707 A.E. [1258] paying the blood price for the blood it had caused to flow and for the evil it had wrought. When its measure of sin was filled up before Omniscient God, He repaid it justly, strictly, and truthfully. And the [g383] arrogant and fanatical kingdom of the Tachiks ended after a duration of six hundred and forty seven years. Baghdad was taken on the first day of Lent, on Monday of the month of Nawasard, the twentieth of the month by the moveable [calendrical system].

[320] All this was narrated to us by prince Hasan called Prosh, son of the pious Vasak, son of Haghbak, brother of Papak' and Mkdem, father of Mkdem, Papak', Hasan and Vasak who was an eyewitness to the events and also heard about events with his own ears, [a man] enjoying great honor in the Khan's eyes.

61. The destruction of the city of Martyropolis.

Upon the arrival of spring in the same year that Baghdad was destroyed, the great Hulegu mustered troops and entrusted them to his younger son named Jiasmut' and he sent the great overseer of his house, Iligia-*noyin*, along with him to the area around the Euphrates River for diversion, to loot, and to subjugate those regions [g384]. While they were passing the city of Martyropolis, called Mufarghin, they summoned the people to submission, to provide troops, pay taxes and live free from care. But the sultan in the city who was of the line of the Edleants' [note: the Ayyubids] did not accept this. Instead he assembled soldiers, pursued them, killed some of them, returned to the city and fortified himself against the T'at'ar army. [Jiasmut' and Iligia-*noyin*] left troops around the city and [321] went as far as the great Euphrates River and to the area of Mesopotamia, took whatever they found as booty and returned again to the troops besieging Martyropolis. Then they went to Hulegu and told him what they had done and about the city's rebelliousness.

[Hulegu] sent many soldiers against the city, appointing as their head a certain Chaghatai, a general from the T'at'ar army, and from the Christians, prince Prhosh called Hasan, brave and distinguished men. They went and besieged the city on all sides preventing entrance or exit.

[Chaghatai and Prhosh] went and battled forcefully, installing ballistas and catapults. They also cut off the water which entered the city. The citizens likewise fought them forcefully, killing many T'at'ars and many of the Christians with them.

Thus the city withstood the siege for more than two years while hunger grew more acute within. They ate clean and unclean animals and then started to eat people [g385] when there was no more food. The strong ate the weak. When the [supply of] poor people was exhausted they turned against one another. Fathers ate sons, and women ate their daughters; and they [322] did not spare the fruit of their wombs. Lovers renounced their loved ones and friends, their acquaintances. And the food supply had so diminished that one *litr* of human flesh sold for seventy *dahekans*. Men and food were entirely exhausted, and not just there [in the city], but danger threatened many other districts for those who were besieging the city harassed the land already subjugated by the T'at'ars with tax collecting and with conveying food and drink for them. Many people died from the extreme cold of the snow which covered the mountains in wintertime.

Then the secure land of Sasun came out in service to the T'at'ars, placing their hopes on prince Sadun, son of Sherbarok' and grandson of Sadun [Artsruni/Mahkanaberdeli], a Christian who was greatly esteemed by Hulegu. For he was a personable man and a valiant fighter whom Hulegu appointed among the foremost champions. The district of Sasun was given to him, but later they broke the oath and killed many of them.

Now when the city was emptied of people because of [g386] severe hunger, [the Mongols] took it and killed those survivors they found, faint from hunger. However they sent to Hulegu the sultan and his brother. [Hulegu] [323] ordered them killed by the sword as beings undeserving of life and guilty of the bloodshed of the entire multitude killed on their account.

But they did not pull down the churches or [disturb] the countless relics of the saints which Saint Marut'a had gathered from all peoples and deposited there. For the Christians in the army told the T'at'ars about their venerability. And they themselves even related many visions of saints, bright light rising over the walls, and luminous men appearing.

The city was taken in 709 A.E. [1260] during the great forty day feast of Lent.

62. Concerning what was done in Mesopotamia and Lower Syria.

Once again the great Hulegu assembled the multitude of his forces and went to Syria, to Aleppo, Damascus and Harran, to Edessa, Amida and other districts, raiding in various directions. He himself besieged Aleppo, to fight with the city. The sultan in Aleppo, Yusuf (who was of the line of Saladin, who destroyed Jerusalem) resisted [Hulegu] [324] and did not submit; rather he closed the city's gates [g387] against him and battled forcefully. The great Hulegu besieged the city on all sides, captured it after many days, and then commenced destroying it.

Then the sultan and his grandees who had secured themselves in the fortress began to plead with him and come out in submission. [Hulegu] accepted this and ordered the destruction of the city halted, that they submit to him and pay taxes.

He went also to Damascus where [the citizens] came before him with many gifts and great sums of money. He received them affectionately and then captured in his name Hems, Hama, and many other cities. He sent many troops against the secure city of Mardin which they were barely able to capture after many days. He also killed many brigands, who were a danger to all peoples and travelers. [Such were the brigands] called Ghacharik' [who were] of Turkish nationality [and lived] fortified in dense forests and in fastnesses difficult of access. They were a countless multitude, not subject to anyone, an assemblage gathered from all regions, rascals and corrupters especially of Christians. He killed many of them and enslaved even more, [325] and, leaving some twenty thousand soldiers as guards, [Hulegu] returned to the plain of Hemian to winter.

Now the sultan of Egypt gathered many troops and came against the guards of the T'at'ar army whose chief was a man named Ket-Bugha (K'it'bugha), a Christian and a Naiman by nationality [g388], a man of great respect who warred valiantly against the sultan. But he was killed with his entire army because the Egyptians were very numerous. They battled in the plain of Mt. T'aborakan. Among Ket-Bugha's warriors were many Armenians and Georgians who were killed with him. This took place in 709 A.E. [1260].

63. The death of pious prince Jalal.

Now the king of the Georgians, Dawit' son of Lasha, who was subject to the T'at'ars was placed into straits and [326] he had mortgaged cities and districts but was still unable to satiate the evil, leech-like appetite [of the Mongols]. So fraught, [Dawit'] fled, but was unable to take along his wife, Queen Gonts'a [Kaxiberidze-Awagean] and [g389] his newborn son, Demetre. He took along only his firstborn son, Giorgi.

Now the great *ostikan* Arghun mustered numerous troops and went after the fugitive King Dawit', to catch him. Unable to reach him, [Arghun] destroyed and enslaved many Georgian districts. Furthermore, he fiercely destroyed and demolished the mausoleums of the Georgian kings at Gelat'i. Similarly, he pitilessly destroyed the *kat'oghikosate* at Atsghor.

But suddenly a detachment of Georgian cavalry appeared and exhibited great valor, for they killed many of Arghun's soldiers—like fire burning through reeds—and then departed safe and sound. There were about four hundred of them.

Arghun became frightened and did not dare to enter and search places so brazenly. He returned to Hulegu planning wickedness in his heart. He seized the Georgian queen Gonts'a, her daughter Xoshak', the great prince Shahnshah, [327] Hasan Jalal, the lord of Xachen, and many others because of debts and taxes [owed]. [These people] gave much treasure and barely saved their lives.

But the pious and virtuous prince Jalal was harassed by impossible tortures, as they demanded more taxes from him than he could pay [g390]. They put wood on his neck and irons on his feet. They dealt with him in

this manner because of his strong Christianity, for all the Muslims were inimical to him and urged Arghun to kill him, saying: "He more [than others] is hostile to our religion and laws." For Arghun also was Muslim. He took [Jalal] to Qazvin. Meanwhile [Jalal] bore everything contentedly, for he was extremely well versed in Scripture, fasting and praying, modest in food and drink, and desirous of a martyr's death.

Now Jalal's daughter Rhuzuk'an, wife of Bora-*noyin* (Charmaghun's son, foremost leader of the T'at'ars) went to Hulegu's wife Doquz Khatun (Toghuz *xat'un*) to free her father from Arghun's clutches. When the impious *ostikan* leared this he immediately sent executioners and had the blessed and just man killed during the night. The impious executioners went and tore [Jalal's] body into pieces like the blessed martyr Yakovk in whose torments [Jalal] shared. May he [328] achieve his crown in Christ, our God. So perished the unblemished and pious man, ending his life, keeping the [g391] faith, in 710 A.E. [1261]. His son, At'abek, sent trusted men to go and steal his father's remains for they had been thrown into a dry well. The Iranian in whose home [Jalal] had been fettered had observed divine signs over him, since as soon as they killed [Jalal] a dazzling light descended protecting his remains (which were thrown into the well), so that afterwards he be buried in honor. The Iranian showed the body to those searching for it, and related to them the wondrous apparition.

They joyously gathered the relics and took [Jalal] to his home, burying him in his ancestral cemetery at Gandzasar monastery. Furthermore, those bringing the relics back also saw that same luminous vision above the relics as they travelled.

[Jalal's] son, At'abek, occupied his father's principality on the order of Hulegu and Arghun. [At'abek] was a man raised in piety, modest, prudent, and prayerful, like a holy hermit, for his parents had brought him up that way. Hulegu killed prince Zak'are (son of Shahnshah), falsely accusing him.

[329] In this year [1261], lord Nerses the meek *kat'oghikos* of Aghbania/Aghuania passed to Christ, having occupied the *kat'oghikosate* for twenty-seven years. He was succeeded by lord Step'anos, a youth [g392].

64. The death of prince Shahnshah and his son Zak'are.

The great prince Shahnshah, son of Zak'are, gave his authority/principality to his senior son, Zak'are, for he had many sons: Zak'are, Awag, Sargis, Artashir and Iwane. He himself looked after his home. Zak'are went to war among the T'at'ar troops and displayed such brave manliness that he was honored by the great Hulegu and by *ostikan* Arghun.

Now it happened that Zak'are was with Arghun and his many troops in Georgia. Unbeknownst to Arghun and the other soldiers, Zak'are went to see his wife, who was with her father, Sargis, prince of Uxtik', one of the rebels with the Georgian king, Dawit'. When Arghun learned about this he notified Hulegu who himself ordered that [Zak'are] be taken shackled. He heaped other false accusations upon him, ordered [330] him killed, dismembered and thrown to the dogs.

When [Zak'are's] father, Shahnshah, heard the bad news in the village of Odzun, he became heart-broken and died of sorrow. They took him and buried him in K'obayr, which his wife had bought from the Armenians [g393].

65. Concerning the great war which occurred between Hulegu and Berke.

The conquerors and great generals in the East and the North were relations of Mongke-Khan, who had died after the Nengrana war. His two brothers contested with each other concerning the kingdom; they were named Ar'igh Boke (Arik' Bugha) and Qubilai (Ghopila). Qubilai triumphed, killing and threatening the forces of Ar'igh Boke, and causing him to flee the land, while he himself ruled.

Hulegu, who was their brother and Mongke-Khan's brother, aided Qubilai, while Berke, who was in the north, aided Ar'igh Boke. There was yet another relation, a commander named Alghu, who was the son of Chaghatai-Khan (eldest son of [331] Chingiz-Khan). Alghu fought with Berke, for at their urging, Mongke-Khan had killed his family. [Alghu] sent to Hulegu saying that he would aid him on this side of the Darband Gates. Now great Hulegu arose, taking the grandee and most glorious princes like himself who were with him from Batu's and Berke's area: Qul (Ghul), Balaghai (Balaxa), Tutar [g394] (Tut'ar), Meghan, the son of Ghul, Chaghatai (Ghataghan) and many others with their troops, and mercilessly cut them down, old and young and eliminated them with the sword, since they were with him and meddled in the authority with one another. A few of them escaped by a hairsbreadth (without their women, children or goods) and went as fugitives to Berke and other relatives.

When Berke heard about this, he assembled countless troops and came to exact blood-vengeance from Hulegu for his relations. Now the great Hulegu similarly assembled a powerful army, dividing it into three fronts. One was entrusted to the son of Abaqa-Khan. He gathered with him *ostikan* Arghun and sent them through Khurasan to help Alghu from that direction. He assembled one detachment at the Alan Gate [Darial Pass], and he took the other with him and entered south of the Darband Gate; for these are the two entrances—the Alan and the Darband Gates. He destroyed part of Berke's area, reaching as far as [332] the great and fathomless river called T'erk'n Et'il [Volga River], a reservoir of many rivers which courses like a sea and enters the Caspian Sea.

Berke came against him with a mighty force and they joined battle by the great river. Many fell on both sides but more on Hulegu's side, since they chilled from the coldness of the snow, and froze to death. Many fell into the river [g395].

Then Hulegu departed, passing through the Darband Gate. One of Hulegu's commanders, a brave and warlike man named Siraman (son of Chormaghun, the first T'at'ar general) remained after the retreat with his troops and battled Berke's forces. The fugitives took refuge with him and survived. Resisting mildly, [Siraman] too went out through the Darband Gate. They left guards at Darband and went to their winter quarters in the Mughan plain.

Thus they warred against each other for five years, from 710-715 of the Armenian Era [1261-1266], mustering troops each year and clashing, but only in the wintertime, since they were unable to fight in the summer due to the [333] heat and the flooding of the river.

In these days the great Hulegu commenced building an extensive and populous city in the Darhni plain. And he levied taxes on all his subjects to bring wood from all parts for building the homes and mansions of this city, which he constructed in a cool place as his summer residence.

Men and animals were oppressed by the severe and harsh [g396] overseers, who were harsher yet than Pharaoh over the sons of Israel. For they would yoke one hundred oxen on all sides of a log and still were unable to move it because of its size and thickness. Men and animals died from being mercilessly forced over long and difficult roads, over rivers and mountains.

He also built huge homes for the idols, assembling there all craftsmen of stone, wood, and pictures. For there is a people called *toyink'* who are sorcerers and witches who, by magical means, make horses, camels, the dead and felt pictures speak. They are all priests with shaven heads and beards and wear yellow cloaks on the breast. They worship everything, especially Shakmonia and Madri.

They deceived [Hulegu] and said that they would make [334] him immortal; and he lived, moved, and mounted [his horse] according to their words and thoroughly gave himself over to their will. Many times during the day he bowed to the ground to their leader, and ate from the dedicatory altar in the house of idols and esteemed it more than any of them. Therefore he especially adorned their temple of idols [g397].

Now [Hulegu's] senior wife, Doquz Khatun, was a Christian and although she frequently reproached him, she was unable to free him from the sorcerers. However, she herself lived piously, aiding and supporting the Christians.

In 714 A.E. [1265] a great sign appeared in the sky, a star moving from the north to the east and south. Long column-like rays of light appeared in front of it, but the star was dim and moved rapidly. It appeared for one full month, and then no more, like a comet which appears from time to time moving west to north. But this star had very long rays which grew daily until the star was lost.

In the same year Hulegu and his wife, Doquz Khatun, died. [Hulegu's] son Abaqa-Khan took his place in 714 A.E. [1265] and married the daughter of the Byzantine emperor [Michael Palaeologus] [g398]. Her name was Despoina (Tespina) Khatun, and she [335] went [to Abaqa] in venerable magnificence; the patriarch of Antioch and other bishops travelled with her. The bishop of Erzinka, lord Sargis, and *vardapet* Bener brought [the groups]. Having baptised Abaqa-Khan, they gave the girl to him as a wife.

[Abaqa] mustered an extremely large force and went to fight the army of Berke which had crossed through the Darband Gate and encamped by the shore of the Kur River. They were positioned on one bank and the others were on the other bank, fortifying the shore of the river with barricades and very deep ditches [g399].

[Gandzakets'i's *History* ends here. The reason for the abrupt termination is not known.]

Some Additional Resources

Internet Archive:

[Turco-Mongolica](#)
[Armenian History and Some Turco-Mongolica at Internet Archive](#)
[Studies by Speros Vryonis, Jr.](#)

[Cilician Armenia](#)
[Crusades](#)

[The Late 12th Century](#), from the *Chronicle* of Michael Rabo [Michael the Syrian].

[The Trade and Cities of Armenia After the Fall of the Bagratid Kingdom](#), by Hagop Manandian.

Wikipedia:

[12th Century](#)
[13th Century](#)
[14th Century](#)

Encyclopaedia Iranica:

[Central Asia](#), multiple topics and authors.
[Saljuqs of Rum](#), by Andrew Peacock.
[Danishmend](#), by Tahsin Yazici.

[Khwarazmshahs](#), by C. Edmund Bosworth.
[Jalal al-Din Mengubirdi](#), by C. Edmund Bosworth.

[Mongols](#), by Peter Jackson.
[The Ilkhans](#), multiple authors.
[Alamūt](#), by B. Hourcade.

[Golden Horde](#), by Peter Jackson.
[Chobanids](#), 1335-1357, by Charles Melville and ‘Abbās Zaryāb.

Maps, at Internet Archive:

in English:

Maps/Texts, by Robert H. Hewsen, at Internet Archive:

[Armenia under the Saljuqs/Seljuks](#) (11th-12th centuries),
[Armenia under the Georgians](#) (1199-1236), and
[Armenia under the Mongol Ilkhans](#) (1256-1335).

[11th-14th Centuries, Cilician Armenia](#). Texts and maps of Cilician Armenia as a [Barony \(1080-1198/1199\)](#) and a [Kingdom \(1197-1375\)](#).

in Armenian:

The Cilician Armenian State (1080-1375) (B. H. Harut'yunyan, cartographer)

[The Cilician Armenian State](#), western portion and map legends.

[The Cilician Armenian State](#), eastern portion and map legends.

from *Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran [Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia]*, volume 5 (Erevan, 1979), between p. 424 and p. 425.

in Russian:

Armenia and Neighboring Countries at the Beginning of the 13th Century (S. T. Eremyan, cartographer)

[Western Lands and Cilicia](#)

[Eastern Lands](#) and map legend

Chronological Tables

The following modern chronological tables are attached to the pdf version of the translation:

Rulers of Mongol Empires

Medieval Rulers of Antioch, Cyprus and Jerusalem

Rulers of Armenia and of Eastern and Western Empires

Heads of the Syrian, Armenian, Nestorian, and Roman Catholic Churches to ca. 1500

Chronological Tables, prepared by Robert Bedrosian, at Internet Archive:

[Armenia and Neighbors](#).